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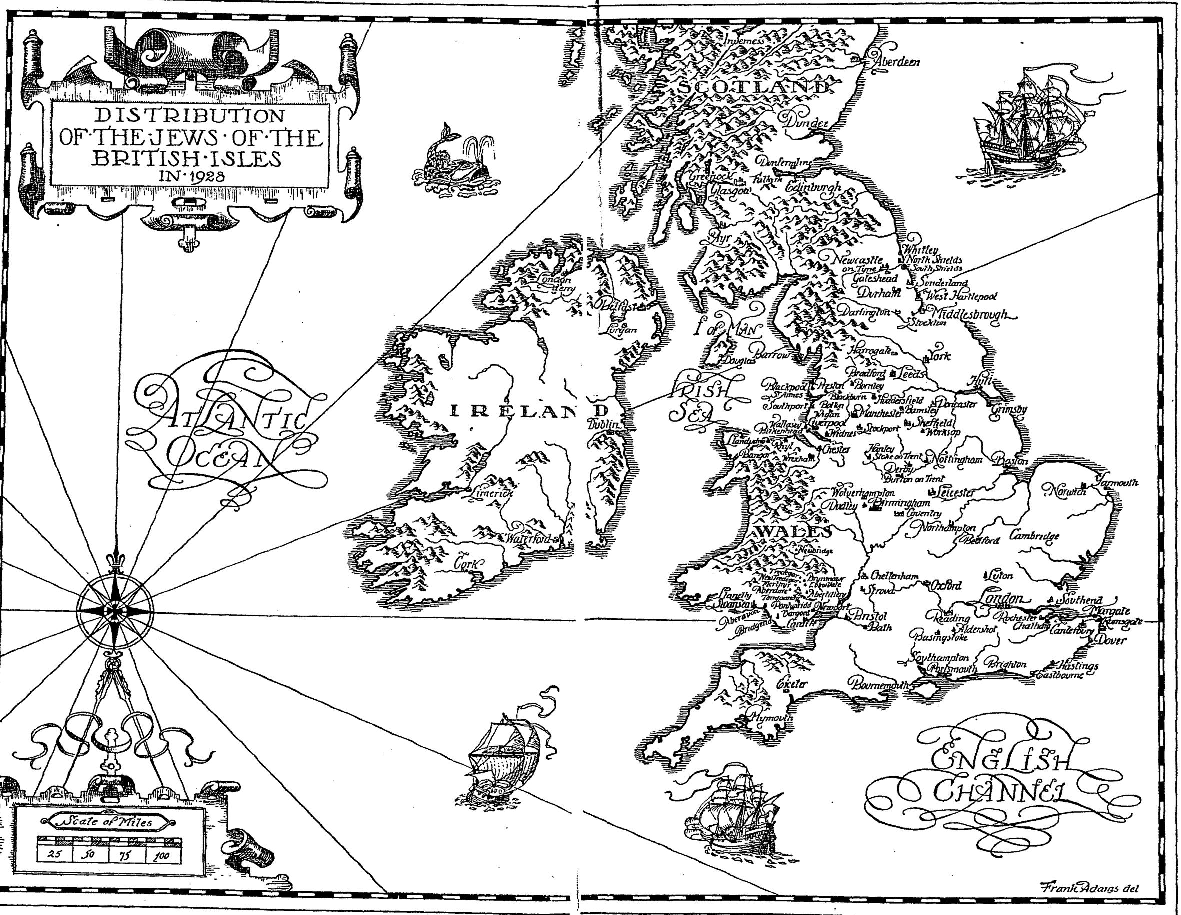

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A HISTORY OF
THE JEWS IN ENGLAND

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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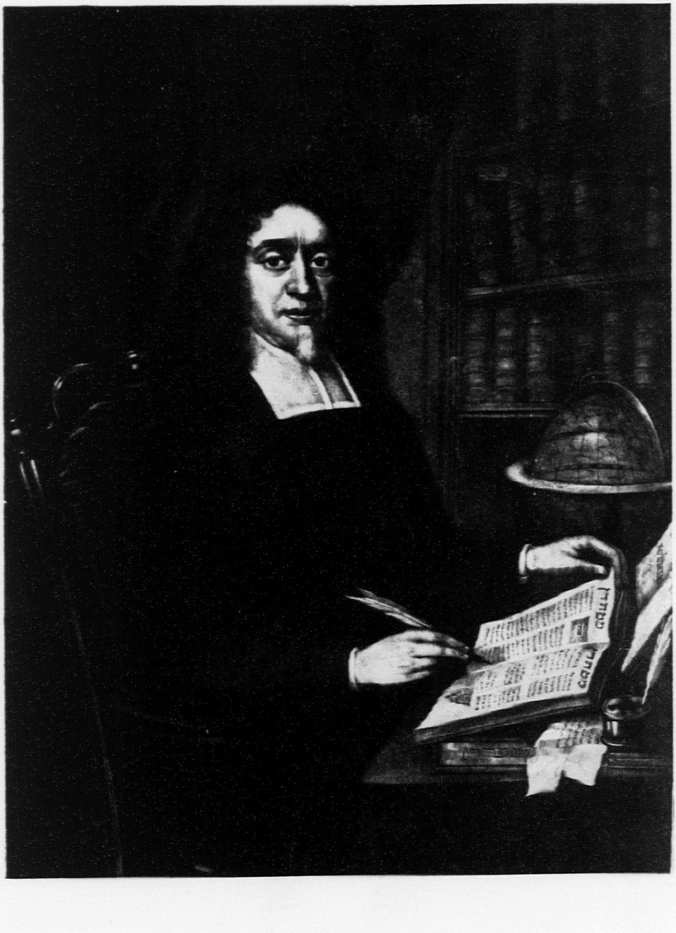

HAHAM DAVID NIETO

Engraving by James McArdell, after David Estevens

A HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN ENGLAND

BY

ALBERT M. HYAMSON

F.R.Hist.S.

WITH 26 ILLUSTRATIONS AND 2 MAPS

SECOND EDITION

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TO
THE MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE Jewish population of the British Isles has never formed any but a numerically insignificant proportion of the Diaspora. Yet despite this relative insignificance of Anglo-Jewry, the story of the Jews in this country is of supreme importance to the student of the philosophy of Jewry and of Jewish history. The adage that history repeats itself is well worn, but none the less true. The history of the Jews in England is the history in miniature of the Diaspora. Since the opening of the Christian era the story of the Jews has everywhere been the same—continual alternations of prosperity and persecution. With nations as with individuals the wheel of fortune ever revolves, but with the Jews its progress seems to have been more rapid, for the alternations have been more numerous than with any other race. But with the Jews the wheel lingers during the period of depression and hurries through that of elation in order to recover the time that has been lost. The story told in the following pages shows all the vicissitudes common these two thousand years to the lot of Jewry. The times of prosperity in England have been among the happiest in the annals of the race. At other seasons Anglo-Jewry has reached the lowest depths of despair, when but a step seemed to separate the community from annihilation. Yet that step here as elsewhere has never been taken. The history of the Jews throughout the Diaspora seems to point the moral that the mission of Israel is to suffer —and to persist.

But the story of the Jews in England is something more than a mere illustration of the general fortunes of the Jews. The unparalleled preservation of medieval records in England enables the historian to trace more clearly than elsewhere the peculiar position of the Jews under the Feudal System. Then, again, the stages in Jewish emancipation in England are very accurately marked. We see the Jews earning by civic virtues the claim for political rights. Emancipation in England was not granted in obedience to abstract principles; it was a practical concession made by practical men. In other ways, too, the story told in this book has its importance not merely as a record of the past but as a guide and hope for the future. The tale unfolded may not be brilliant, but the moral pointed is inspiring.

In the preparation of this volume I have been indebted to many friends for valuable assistance and advice. First to be mentioned is Mr. Lucien Wolf, for whose suggestions for the period after the Re-Settlement I am under great obligations. I should also at this point like to acknowledge the assistance I received throughout the preparation of the book from a volume of which no mention appears in the bibliographies—I refer to the *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica,* for which Mr. Wolf and Dr. Joseph Jacobs are jointly responsible. Mr. Israel Solomons and Mr. Elkan Adler read the whole of the proofs and favoured me with much valuable criticism. Mr. Lionel Abrahams and Dr. H. P. Stokes very kindly read the chapters dealing with the Pre-Expulsion period, and their criticisms, as well as those of Mr. H. S. Q. Henriques, the author of *The Return of the Jews to England* (Macmillan & Co., 1905), who read the chapter dealing with the legal changes that occurred between the Expulsion and the Re-Settlement, proved of great value.

Use has been made of Mr. Henriques's book, but the permission of the author for such use has been previously obtained. The living writers, however, whose works proved of most assistance in the preparation of the volume are Mr. Lionel Abrahams, the Very Reverend the Haham Dr. M. Gaster, Dr. Joseph Jacobs, and Mr. Lucien Wolf. Mr. Abrahams, in his masterly monograph on the Expulsion, has not only proved a great aid: one might almost say that in the absence of his pioneer work the narrative of the Expulsion and of the century that preceded it would have been little more than a bald statement. Dr. Gaster's researches into the history of his Community have been practically the only source of several chapters in the present volume. Without his assistance the inner history of Anglo-Jewish Sephardism would have been almost, if not altogether, a blank page. Dr. Joseph Jacobs has collected into his *Jews of Angevin England* almost all the contemporary references to Jews in this country during that period. The task of dealing with this especially difficult era, and of weaving the available material into one connected narrative, has in consequence been appreciably lightened. Mr. Wolf's writings on the Re-Settlement and the years immediately subsequent to it are so well known as hardly to need mention. To one curious of estimating the extent and value of his work in this sphere a comparison between his 'Menasseh ben Israel' and Kayserling's essay on the same subject would prove enlightening. To Mr. Israel Abrahams I am indebted for seeing the volume through the press.

The bulk of Chapters XVII to XXI[1] first appeared in the Re-Settlement Number of the *Jewish Chronicle*, by the kindness and courtesy of whose proprietors and editor I have been permitted to incorporate them in the present volume. With regard to the illustrations, which were selected in consultation with Mr. Elkan Adler and Mr. Israel Solomons, I must express my acknowledgments of the assistance rendered by Mr. Gustave Tuck. The greater number of the illustrations are reproduced from rare engravings in the possession of Mr. Israel Solomons. To Mr. Elkan Adler I am indebted for the portrait of his late father, Dr. N. M. Adler, and to Mrs. James H. Solomon for that of her late uncle, Mr. Lionel L. Cohen. The photographs of the House of Aaron of Lincoln and of Clifford's Tower, York, were taken by Mr. Frank Haes.

April 1907

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[1] Renumbered in the Second Edition XVI to XX.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

DURING the twenty years that have elapsed since this book was first published additional material relating to the history of the Jews in England has come to light, and advantage has been taken of the researches of scholars such as Mr. Lucien Wolf, Mr. Wilfred Samuel, Dr. Cecil Roth and Dr. Charles Duschinsky to supplement and correct some of the statements made twenty years ago. During these two decades also the story of the Jews in England has continued to unfold itself and the events of the twenty years have been numerous enough to justify three additional chapters which bring the narrative almost to date.

The illustrations, the number of which has been increased, are in some cases identical with those which appeared in the earlier edition. I am indebted to Mr. Lucien Wolf for the loan of several of the engravings from which the new illustrations have been taken. Others have been placed at my disposal by Mr. Paul Goodman, the Secretary, and the Mahamad of the Spanish and Portuguese Community, the Lady Rothschild, Mr. Maurice Myers, Mr. Leonard L. Cohen and Miss Henrietta Adler. I desire to express my thanks to these ladies and gentlemen for enabling me to illustrate these chapters and thereby perhaps attract readers to the interesting story I have endeavoured to narrate.

October 1928

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A HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

THE EARLIEST LEGENDS
(Before 1066)

Solomon and Britain.

MANY dates have been suggested for the first connexion of Jews with the British Isles. The earliest period which has been mentioned for a Jewish settlement, either temporary or permanent, is that of the era of Solomon and Hiram, King of Tyre, when the fleets of the allied nations sailed westward from Palestine for purposes of commerce. It is in the highest degree probable that the ' Tarshish ' to which Solomon's subjects voyaged was Spain, and it may well be that Tyrians and Phoenicians, accompanied by Israelites, ventured to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar, and to sail as far as the Cornish coast in order to bring back supplies of tin, for which, in very early times, the south-west corner of England was famous. The evidence on which this theory rests is philological rather than historical. A Semitic origin is found for the name Britain in the Phoenician words *Berat-Anach* (' the country of tin '), and for the well-known Cornish place names, Marazion (' Bitterness of Zion ') and Market Jew. Resemblances have been traced between the Hebrew and Cornish languages; and it has been pointed out that Jewish names were once common among the inhabitants of Cornwall. Whether the names and words in question are really to be

' Jews in Cornwall.'

regarded as evidence of Jewish influence is, of course, a matter of doubt; and the controversy on the subject has been inconclusive. It may be that they are instances of purely accidental coincidences; it may be that they are due to Jewish intercourse with England during the reign of Solomon. It is possible also that they may date from a later period.[1]

Julius Caesar and the Jews.

It has been suggested that Julius Caesar, whose favourable disposition towards the Jews is undoubted, may have been accompanied by soldiers of that race on his visits to Britain, and may have settled some of them there. Again, a few decades later, Jews may have been settled in Britain by the Romans, but in far different circumstances. On the capture of Jerusalem, numbers of Jews were sold as slaves and scattered in all parts of the then known world. Possibly some may have come to Britain. Vague legends are related of the mission of Peter to Britain, and since his efforts were directed to Jewish rather than Gentile converts, this visit to the island is pointed to as a proof of the existence there of Jews.[2]

The Coronation Stone legends.

A still less probable connexion between Judea and the British Isles is related in some of the legends that have clustered around the Coronation Stone now in Westminster Abbey. This relic, which is claimed to have been Jacob's pillow on the occasion of his famous dream, and later one of the cornerstones of Solomon's Temple, is said to have been saved from the *débâcle* on the destruction of the first Temple, and to have been included among the treasures of some Danite refugees who, taking ship, fled westwards. Their goal, it is suggested, was the Cassiterides or Tin Islands of Cornwall, but driven slightly out of their course some of the refugees were wrecked on the coast of Ireland. Among the salvage was the corner-stone of the Temple. Included either among the survivors of the wreck or in a subsequent ship-load of refugees were a princess of the house of Judah and the scribe Baruch. The prophet Jeremiah is also held by some to have been in the company. A marriage was contracted between the Jewish princess and a native chieftain, and the sacred stone used for their coronation. From this alliance, the legend continues, sprang the present royal house of Britain.[1]

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[1] For the controversy regarding the Jews in Cornwall, see F. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. iii (1870); the Rev. John Bannister, 'Jews in Cornwall' and 'Marazion' (*Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, 1867). Besides the advocates of this early Jewish settlement in Cornwall and their opponents, there is another school which holds the view that the alleged traces of Jewry are due to Jewish connexions during the period of admitted Jewish residence in England.

[2] The strongest support for the presence of Jews in Roman Britain was the discovery of a curious Roman brick during some excavations in Mark Lane, London, about 1650. The brick, which was the keystone of an arched vault full of burnt corn, bore on one side a raised representation of Samson driving the foxes into a field of corn. The Roman Samson, Hercules, was the guardian of granaries, and it is suggested that as the story of Samson could hardly have been known to the Romans at the period to which the brick referred, the vault was probably erected by some Jews settled under the Roman ægis.

No permanent Jewish settlement.

Even if, however, those who advocate the theory of Jewish settlements in Britain in these early days are in the right, the Jews to whom they refer were little more than wayfarers. It is certain that they were in no sense the founders of a permanent Jewish settlement, and whatever Jews may have been in the country, before or immediately after the opening of the Christian era, either speedily left it again or were merged in the surrounding population. In the racial sense the settlement, if there was one, existed; in the religious sense there was none. Between this early supposed settlement and the later one there was no sort of connexion whatsoever. The Jews of Cornwall or of Ireland must have been but an isolated fragment glistening for a moment in the firmament of history but to pass into perpetual darkness.

The Lost Ten Tribes and the English.

There is a third legendary Israelitish connexion with early Britain, if possible more visionary than those already noted. It amounts to an Israelitish origin for both the ancient Britons and their Saxon conquerors. The advocates of the Anglo-Israel theories—or to be more exact, both the Brito-Israelites and the Anglo-Israelites—claim that the inhabitants of England are the descendants of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel, who were taken into captivity by the Assyrians on the final destruction of the Kingdom of Israel. The historical connexion between the Ten Tribes and the English is briefly as follows: Contemporary with the exile of the Israelites in Halah and Habor, by the river of Gozan and the cities of the Medes, appeared in the same districts the Scythians, a branch of the Khumri. The Scythians or Scutai—whence Scots—wandered toward the west, and ultimately settled in Britain as well as in other parts. From them the Celtic inhabitants of the island were descended. Another branch of the Khumri, the Sacai, afterwards Saxons (Sons of Isaac), subsequently followed the lead of the Scythians, and formed many republics on the Israelitish pattern in northern and central Europe; one of their branches ultimately settled in Britain.[1]

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[1] For the Coronation Stone legends, see William F. Skene, 'The Coronation Stone'; Albert M. Hyamson, 'The Coronation Stone and its Legendary Jewish Connexion' (*Jewish Chronicle*, August 8, 1902).

Setting aside all the legendary traditions, the question of the date of the first settlement of Jews in England is still clothed in mystery not yet fully penetrable. So slight and inconclusive are the few extant references to Jews in pre-Norman England, that most historians are of opinion that, with the exception of occasional wayfarers, especially Gallo-Jewish slave-dealers, there were no Jews in England until after the Norman Conquest. Of the presence of Jewish slave-dealers in Northern Gaul there can be no question, and it is very probable that some of these were indirectly responsible for the conversion of Britain to Christianity. The British slaves who, in the Roman market-place, attracted the attention of Gregory, and directed it towards Britain, were most probably introduced into Italy by Jewish merchants.

Jews and the introduction of Christianity.

The earliest Jewish reference.

The earliest references to Jews appear in the *Liber Poenitentialis* of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (A.D. 669). These ecclesiastical enactments are directed against intercourse in certain specified instances between Christians and Jews. The joint celebration of Easter or Passover is especially forbidden. Christians were not allowed to take food with Jews, to sell

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[1] For Anglo-Israelism, see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, article by Joseph Jacobs; and Hastings' *Dictionary of Ethics and Religion*, article by Albert M. Hyamson.

Christian slaves to them, or to celebrate mass where Jews were buried. A century later these anti-Jewish prohibitions were repeated by Egbert, Archbishop of York, in his *Excerptiones*. Against these enactments as evidence of a Jewish settlement, it has been pointed out that not a single reference to Jews can be found in Bede's or the other old English Chronicles, nor in the contemporary charters. Moreover, it has been suggested that the references quoted may not refer to Jews at all, and, if they do, may only have been copied from Continental codes. Some of the enactments relate to Judaising practices rather than to Jews, and regarding the former there was a burning controversy in the Church at the time. These enactments may, therefore, have been directed against heretics rather than against Jews.

A supposed Jewish immigration in the ninth century.

The next piece of evidence regarding a pre-Norman Jewish settlement is of a more definite nature. In a Hebrew work, *Emek Habacha*, by Joseph Cohen (1575), it is stated, under the year 810, that in consequence of continued warfare and a general condition of unsettlement in Germany, many Jews fled thence to Spain and England. This evidence is not contemporary, nor is it corroborated. A contemporary document,[1] however, which if authentic would almost decide the question in favour of a Jewish settlement in England at that date, relates that in the year 833, Whitglaff, King of the Mercians, having been defeated by Egbert, took refuge in Croyland Abbey, and, in return for the protection and assistance rendered him by the abbot and monks, granted a charter confirming 'to them all lands, tenements, and possessions, and all other gifts which had at any time been bestowed upon them by his predecessors or their nobles, or by any other faithful Christians or by Jews'.[2] Accepting this statement it would appear that not only were Jews in the country at the time, but they had apparently been settled there for a number of years. It has even been contended that the statement proves Jews were qualified to hold lands. Other property than lands is, however, mentioned in the charter, and this claim can hardly be deduced from the record.[1]

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[1] Ingulphus, *History of Croyland Abbey.*

[2] The authenticity of this record has been very strongly contested and is now accepted by very few scholars.

The Laws of Edward the Confessor.

Finally there is the evidence of the so-called Laws of Edward the Confessor, wherein it is declared: 'That the Jews, wheresoever they be, are under the King's guard and protection; neither can any one of them put himself under the protection of any rich man without the King's licence, for the Jews, and all they have, belong to the King; and if any person shall detain them or their money, the King may claim them, if he please, as his own.' These laws, although attributed to Edward the Confessor, were compiled in their present form at a much later date, when Jews were admittedly settled in the country. Whether this distinct reference to Jews was to be found in the earliest version cannot be stated. In its present form it sums up the position of the Jews under the Feudal System both in England and on the Continent. Although that System was not fully introduced into this country until the Norman Conquest, the penultimate of the Saxon kings had been imbued with sufficient of the spirit of the Norman Government to have rendered the adoption of such legislation possible. The evidence concerning the pre-Norman settlement of Jews in England is inconclusive.

AUTHORITIES:—Joseph Jacobs, 'The Jews of Angevin England' (1893), 'When did the Jews first settle in England?' (*Jew. Quart. Rev.*, vol. i, 1888); J. M. Rigg, *Select Pleas . . . from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* (1902); J. E. Blunt, *The Jews in England* (1830); A. Neubauer, 'Notes on the Jews in Oxford' (*Oxford Historical Society's Publications, Collectanea*, 1890); John Caley, 'The Origin of the Jews in England' (*Archaeologia*, vol. viii, 1787).

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[1] At the beginning of the eleventh century, according to Basnage, the Jews were expelled from England. Unfortunately no authority is given for the statement.

CHAPTER II

UNDER THE NORMANS

(1066–1146)

WHETHER Jews were settled in England before the Conquest or not, it is certain that a Jewish immigration into England took place early in the reign of William the Conqueror. The exact date of their settlement is again unknown, but they came from Rouen, and their advent was one of the direct consequences of the Conquest.

Immigration under William I.

England at the period of the Norman invasion was inhabited almost entirely by land-holders of various grades, villeins, and Churchmen. A small proportion of the population was engaged in trades, but the commercial class was unrepresented. The country was divided between the upper and lower classes, while of the middle there was as yet neither representative nor substitute. So long as the English were content to remain at home, either on their estates or in their villages, and took no practical interest in external affairs, the ordinary produce of the soil and district was sufficient to supply their wants, and the baron, his retainers, and villeins lived at home in plenty, and found sufficient to enable them to visit their neighbours on either friendly or hostile errands. When, however, the desire to leave that somewhat narrow sphere arose, other needs came. Payment in kind when attempted beyond the smallest limits becomes so cumbersome as to be hardly practicable, and the wider one's interests spread the more pressing becomes the necessity for a reliable and convenient means of exchange. To satisfy the requirements of the advance in the state of civilization that marked the advent of the Normans to England, in the first place coin, and in the

The need for a middle class.

second the machinery of commerce, were required. Both could be supplied by the Jews. Excluded from almost all other callings in life, the Jews of Europe had perforce to devote themselves more and more to finance and trade. In these twin occupations, reinforced by their sharpened intelligence, due doubtless to the almost continuous persecution that Jewry had even then suffered, the Jews of the Middle Ages excelled. In the economy of Norman England the Jews were well fitted to take the place of the middle class, and in the natural course, whether at the special invitation of the king or on their own initiative, the Jews must inevitably have found their way into the country.

The need for the Jews.

It has been suggested that a large sum of money was paid by the Jews to William for permission to settle in England. To such an extent, however, was it to the interest of the king that they should cross the Channel that it is not likely there was any need to bribe him. William was specially anxious that the feudal dues should be paid him in coin rather than in kind, but without the assistance of the Jews or a similar capitalist element such payment was impossible. The Jews brought with them coin that speedily got into circulation. The king was enabled to purchase luxuries and to satisfy his military requirements; the barons were assisted to pay their dues; suitors who found it necessary to follow the king's court from one town to another, or to go to Rome to plead their causes before the Papal Curia, found their course rendered easier by Jewish money. Not only were the Jews instrumental in keeping the royal treasury filled, but they also managed to attract some of the odium that would otherwise have fallen upon the king and his more regularly appointed officials, and to a corresponding degree they were instrumental in relieving the latter. A charter, confirmed by John, was granted, at any rate to individual Jews, by Henry I. By this the Jews were given freedom of movement with their goods in the country, and excused from all customs, tolls, &c., just as the king's goods were. They were given permission to reside wherever they wished. They might claim redress if molested, and hold lands in pledge until redeemed. They were permitted to buy

The Jews necessary to William's policy.

Their place in the national economy.

A charter granted.

whatever was brought to them, excepting church property and crimson cloth (? stained with blood),[1] to sell their pledges after holding them a year and a day, to be tried by their peers, and to be sworn on the Pentateuch. A Jew's oath was considered valid against the oaths of twelve Christians. To a very considerable extent the Jews' transactions consisted of loans on the security of land, and they were by law permitted to charge a very high interest. The king levied a tax on those transactions in return for the protection he extended to the Jews, and as he often accepted money from the Jews' debtors for the use of his influence on their behalf, the transactions of the Jews proved doubly remunerative to the crown.

Jews indirectly assisted by ecclesiastical law.

The financial transactions of the Jews were rendered easier by the laws of the Church against usury. These were so stringent that an observant Christian was prevented from entering upon any commercial undertakings. By usury was understood not merely money-lending, but also commercial speculation and even ordinary capitalism. Thus the field was left clear for the Jews. The Church at this period was averse from the forcible conversion of Jews lest their reversion to Judaism might create scandal. According to its laws in force at the beginning of the twelfth century, Jews were incapable of holding Christian slaves, and any of their slaves who might accept Christianity were at once to be set at liberty. Jews were also debarred from holding public offices, and in common with heretics and pagans were not allowed to accuse Christians. Converts guilty of reversion to Judaism were to be deprived of their children and servants lest the latter might be influenced to act likewise. Converts from Judaism were welcomed and well treated. A letter from Archbishop Anselm recommends the Lord Prior Arnulf and the Archdeacon William to care for one committed by him to their charge. 'Let no poverty or other accident which we can avert cause him to regret having left his parents and their law for Christ's sake. . . . Do not let him and his little family suffer any harsh want, but let him rejoice that he has passed from perfidy to the true faith, and

The Church and the Jews.

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[1] *Pannus sanguinolentus.*

prove by our piety that our faith is nearer to God than the Jewish. For I would prefer, if necessary, that there should be spent in this all that belongs to me from the rents of the archdeaconry, and even much more, rather than that he who has fled out of the hands of the devil to the servants of God should live in misery among us.'

The Jews and their neighbours.

The Jews of necessity kept themselves distinct and apart from the general community. Their relations with their neighbours were often friendly, but on the whole they lived an entirely different life. The many points of agreement between the Normans and Saxons that gradually caused the fusion of the two races were altogether wanting as between Jews and Christians. The appearance of the Jews at once marked them as aliens. Instead of mixing freely with the people, they kept together in Jewries, not by compulsion, but of their free choice. None of them engaged in occupations in which they might find Christian colleagues. They took no part in the defence of the country, or in the preservation of the peace. Their exclusion from the Guilds and the Frank-Pledge deprived them of the opportunities afforded by those institutions for social intercourse with their neighbours. They took no part in the local government of the time through the Court Leet, the Court Baron, the Town-Moot or the Shire-Moot. Not only did they not worship together with their neighbours, their day of worship was even different from that of the Christians, and when death had otherwise made all men equal, Jews were buried apart from Christians. Jews were not permitted by their laws to eat food similar to that of Christians, nor to partake of food prepared by non-Jews. For them cattle had to be killed by special rites, and still more irritating was the assumption that meat, although thus killed, which might be rejected by the Jews, was good enough for Christians. All these differences combined to render the Jews strange, and therefore suspect in the popular eyes. The populace is always hostile to whatever it cannot understand, and there is little reason to believe that the Jews of Norman England were ever pleasing in the eyes of the lower classes. So long, however, as the people had no leader no harm could occur. The Jews were safe while they enjoyed the favour of the king, and so long as he retained his control over his subjects.[1]

Favoured by the early Norman kings.

From the first three Norman kings the Jews suffered neither exaction nor annoyance. William Rufus and Henry I obtained by violence large sums of money from their Christian subjects; but they spared the Jews. For instance, the 10,000 marks needed for the purchase of Normandy from Robert were raised with great difficulty, the abbeys, in some instances, having to melt down their plate in order to provide their contributions; yet no levy was made on the Jews. On the other hand, two circumstances arose during this period that tended to increase, for the time at least, the prosperity of the Jews of England. The preaching of the First Crusade was as effective in England as on the Continent. Men of all ranks, aroused by the call of religion, were anxious to take part in the recovery for Christendom of the Holy Sepulchre. To equip themselves for the campaign they sold or pledged all manner of property, and Jews, practically the only capitalists, were in almost every instance the other party to the transaction.

Rufus and the Church.

Over William Rufus, however, the Church and Christianity had little influence. So far from taking the cross, William II was little better than an infidel. He took a delight in outraging the feelings of devout Christians, and for the double purpose of annoying them and of filling his own coffers he was accustomed to appropriate to himself the property of the Church. When a bishopric fell vacant, instead of filling it, he retained the temporalities in his own hands, farming them out to Jews, who were free from the penalties and fears that Christians would have suffered in a similar position.

His favour of the Jews and discouragement of apostasy.

Rufus, moreover, in his cynical disregard for the Christian proprieties, even went further. Whether out of policy, wishing to retain the Jewish colony intact, or merely to offend the feelings of Christians, or in return for bribes, he was accustomed to coerce converted Jews to return to their original faith. Towards the end of his reign the Jews of Rouen, being somewhat alarmed at the frequent secessions from their body, begged the king, and supported their petition by a large bribe, to compel the converts to return to Judaism. Rufus was by no means averse from the task, and by means of terrible threats forced most of them to return to their previous faith. On another occasion a dialogue between the king and one Stephen, a convert to Christianity, whose father had promised William sixty marks if he would induce the son to return to his former spiritual allegiance, is reported. In the discussion the king was vanquished, and the convert, who did not hesitate to rebuke the ruler, remained more firm in his new faith than before the interview. The king claimed the promised payment inasmuch as, even if he had failed, he had done his utmost to succeed. The father demurred on the ground that his son was more steadfast in his new faith than before the interview, and the matter was finally compromised by the payment of half the amount originally promised. On another occasion Rufus displayed his peculiar attitude towards Christianity by arranging a public disputation in London between rabbis and bishops, on the rival claims of Judaism and Christianity. It was on the king's own initiative that the discussion was arranged, and, perhaps to overcome any scruples the Jews may have felt, he offered, if they prevailed in the argument, himself to accept Judaism. The avowed partiality of the king caused the chosen exponents of Christianity some misgiving, and they entered into the controversy, we are told, in trepidation, 'fearing with pious solicitude for the Christian faith'. As is invariably the case in such discussions, both sides claimed the victory. 'From this contest', the contemporary records state, 'the Jews received nothing but confusion, though they often boasted that they had been conquered not by speech, but by deeds.' The king remained a Christian, nominally.

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[1] This account of the condition of the Jews in England under the Normans is based to a considerable extent on material collected by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Lionel Abrahams and published in his *The Expulsion of the Jews.*

A public disputation.

The influence of the Jews alarms the Church.

The favour that the Jews of England enjoyed, together with the increase in their numbers and prosperity, aroused the attention of the Church, and stimulated it to efforts to counteract any influence the Jews might have been exerting on the

Christian population. Missionary enterprises were arranged, and during the reign of Henry I monks were sent to all the towns of England in which Jews had settled, for the express purpose of preaching down Judaism. With the exception of these expeditions and one other incident, there is absolute silence in the contemporary records concerning the doings of and happenings to the Anglo-Jewish community for the whole of the reign of Henry I and until the fifth year of that of his successor Stephen. The increasing prosperity of the Jews had meanwhile added to the feelings of suspicion and hatred that had been aroused among the people, the additional one of envy. Not only were the Jews still alien in race and religion, strange and hardly comprehensible: they were yet further separated from the people among whom they dwelt by the acquisition of wealth, which the people must have regarded as wrung from themselves. The debtor generally nurses a grievance against his creditor, and for an Englishman to see that which was formerly his the property of another, against whom he was already prejudiced, must have rendered him all the more anti-Jewish in feeling. The first attack on the rights and liberties of the Jews did not come, however, from the common people, nor from the landed classes, nor from the Church; the king, the constitutional protector of the Jews, doubtless considering that he might do as he liked with his own, fined the Jews of London in 1130 the sum of £2,000 (the equivalent of perhaps £100,000 to-day) on the pretence that one of their number had killed a sick man. The charge possibly amounted to one of magic, a Jewish doctor (at that day Jews almost monopolized the practice of medicine in Western Europe) in all probability having without success attended a sick Christian.[1]

The Jews of London fined £2,000.

The general unsettlement that persisted throughout the troubled reign of Stephen reacted unfavourably on the fortunes of Anglo-Jewry. The Jew, essentially a man of peace, for he has learnt only too thoroughly the horror and miseries of war, can only flourish under a settled government. The civil wars that continued throughout the alternating govern-

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[1] Blunt incorrectly postdates this incident by ten years.

Spoliation of the Jews of Oxford.

ments of the Empress Maud and King Stephen were to him fraught with misfortunes. The former, during the occupation of Oxford, compelled the Jews of that city to pay her an exchange of money.[1] On the occupation of that place by her opponent Stephen, similar but considerably increased demands were made. The Jews were then compelled to yield three and a half exchanges, together with all the property of an outlawed and apostate Jew. To dissipate any hesitation the Jews might have felt about the grant, Stephen stationed incendiaries in various parts of the city with instructions, in certain circumstances, to set fire to the houses of the Jews, and, as an earnest of his intentions and as a preliminary, the house of Aaron, the son of Isaac, was burnt to the ground.

The first settlement at Oxford.

By this date numerous Jewish communities had sprung up throughout the country. Almost if not the first places in which the Jews settled were the towns of Oxford and Cambridge. The earliest record relating to the former is dated 1075. At Oxford the Jews were early both numerous and wealthy. They held so many houses there that the students were compelled to become their tenants. At least three of the halls of learning were held by Jews, and from their occupiers were known as Moyse's Hall, Jacob's Hall, and Lumbard's Hall.[2] The Jews dwelt in the parishes of St. Martin, St. Edward, and St. Aldate; hence these became known as the Great and Little Jewries. The institutions of the Oxford Community included a school and a synagogue; and the rabbis instructed in the Hebrew language and literature not only Jews but also Christian students of the University. The Jews of Oxford may possibly have come from Wallingford, where there was also a very early settlement.

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[1] The meaning of this term is not altogether clear. The following explanation has been offered: The Jews were at the time public money-changers, changing foreign into English coin. At times Maud and Stephen, for example, imposed a rate of exchange on foreign money, which represented a considerable premium on the true market value. Thus a given quantity of bullion worth one noble might be forced to exchange for three and a half nobles (i.e. three and a half exchanges).

[2] The Guildhall also was owned a century and a half later by a Jew, Moses, the son of Isaac. From him it is supposed to have passed to the king by escheat, and by the latter it was granted by charter to the citizens.

At Cambridge.

Jews arrived at Cambridge in 1073 and settled at first in the neighbourhood of the market-place, the present Guildhall having been built on their cemetery. They afterwards moved to the neighbourhood of the Round Church, in the parishes of All Saints and the Holy Sepulchre. In that town also the settlement soon became one of consequence, for it was chosen as one of the chief places to which monks were sent in the reign of Henry I to neutralize the supposed efforts of the Jews to propagate their faith. In 1224, when the Franciscans came to Cambridge, the synagogue was presented to them by the town authorities. Later in the same century the Jews suffered severely in person and property in the course of the Barons' Wars until in 1266 ' The Disinherited ' under Sir John Deyvile raided the city and carried the Jews, together with the records of the debts to them, captive into the Fens, where they were held to ransom. But the king, out of no particular sympathy with the victims, but indignant that any one should dare to interfere with his Jews and thereby reduce his revenues, in person led a force to their rescue. At the same time he issued letters patent calling on all good subjects to protect them. Nine years later, at the instance of the Queen-Mother, Eleanor of Provence, the Jews of Cambridge in common with those of all of her dower-cities, were banished, and those of Cambridge took up their residence in Huntingdon.

At Stamford and Winchester.

Another important Jewish centre was Stamford, where monks sent in 1109 to preach against Judaism ' exceedingly prospered in their Ministry, and strengthened the Christian Faith against the Jewish depravity '. Jews settled in Stamford very shortly after their arrival in the country. There was a Jewish community in Winchester before 1115. The earliest reference to Jews in London is about the same year. The act of oppression of fifteen years later has already been mentioned, and in 1136 by the extensive fire that visited the city the Jewish quarter suffered considerably. The first settlement of the Jews in London was in the ward of Haco, in Broad Street. The Jews, however, moved westwards, closer to the great mar-

In London.

ket of West Cheape, a situation similar to that usually occupied by Jews throughout medieval England. The site of their settlement is still known as Old Jewry. In this district the Jews dwelt in strong handsome mansions, worthy to house the great nobles of the land—in fact, many of the Jews' houses in the Old Jewry were purchased by contemporary barons. Others by various means came into the hands of the crown, and before the Expulsion the Jews had entirely left the Old Jewry and settled around the Guildhall. Another Jewish settlement in London of which there is some trace was farther east within the jurisdiction of the Constable of the Tower, doubtless chosen on account of the greater security. The present Jewin Street marks the cemetery that throughout this period served the Jews of London, and, until 1177, all the Jews of the kingdom. At different times the Jews possessed several synagogues within the City. St. Stephen's Church and St. Mary Colechurch were both once synagogues, until confiscated and given to the dominant faith. St. Anthony's Hospital, upon whose site one of the City banks now stands, was also once a synagogue. Another Jewish place of worship at the north-east corner of Old Jewry was confiscated and granted to the newly-founded order of the Sackcloth Friars, who had been disturbed by the howling (*ululatio*) of the Jews at prayer. This building was of sufficient importance to become the Mansion House of a later century. Another synagogue was partly destroyed in 1262. Finally there was the building, afterwards known as Bakewell Hall, on whose site Gresham College was built, which, although nominally a private house —for the Jews of London were forbidden by Archbishop Peckham in 1283 to have synagogues—was the chief Jewish house of prayer in London until the Expulsion.

In Ireland.

The first mention of Jews in connexion with Ireland relates to the year 1079. In that year it is said five Jews came over the sea bearing gifts to Fairdelbach (Hua Brian), but were sent back over the sea.[1] The first mention of a Jewish community in Ireland was in 1232, when the custody of the Jewry of Ireland was entrusted to Peter de Rivall, the

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[1] O'Conor, *Annals of Innisfallen*, ii, 81.

Treasurer of the Irish Exchequer. Irish Jewry, however, never seems to have been of much consequence or influence.

The distribution of the Jews.

After the university towns and London, the Jewish centre next in importance was Norwich. Other towns that sheltered Jews during the two centuries preceding the Expulsion were Gloucester, Exeter, Northampton, Leicester, Hereford, Bury St. Edmunds, Newcastle-on-Tyne, York, Tewkesbury, Winchelsea, Bristol, Southampton, Winchester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Canterbury, Lancaster, Doncaster, Beverley, Grimsby, Flint, Rhuddland, Conway, Beaumaris, Carnarvon, Newborough, Criccieth, Harlech, Bala, Derby, Bridgnorth, Coventry, Worcester, Warwick, Newport, Bedford, Huntingdon, King's Lynn, Thetford, Sudbury, Ipswich, Eye, Bungay, Colchester, Hertford, Hitchin, Dunstable, Berkhampstead, Chesterton, Royston, Stamford, Wycombe, Cricklade, Marlborough, Devizes, Wells, Wilton, Reading, Newbury, Windsor, Guildford, Rochester, Faversham, Rye, Arundel, Chichester, Bosham, Romsey, and Dorchester. Jews were also found living in smaller places.

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CHAPTER III

THE CRUSADES AND THE BLOOD ACCUSATION

(1146–1188)

The Crusades.

WHILE the Normans were settling the government of the country and securing themselves in their newly-acquired possessions, the period of tranquillity that the Jews of Europe had been enjoying came to a close, and a new cycle of massacres and barbarities commenced. The eloquence and zeal of Peter the Hermit and his coadjutors in the preaching of the First Crusade succeeded in banding together men of all nations in the task of recovering the Holy Land for Christendom. They had, however, another result that was perhaps hardly intended. To rouse the passions of the soldiers of the Cross lurid tales were told of all that Christians had suffered at the hands of that Eastern people, estranged from God and the enemies of Christ. Christians had been massacred and their lands laid waste. Churches had been destroyed, or, even worse, devoted to anti-Christian rites. Men and women had been tortured, Christians circumcised and their blood used for superstitious purposes. By these tales of infidel barbarity Europe was aroused, and her chivalry swore eternal warfare on the savage and unchristian race, whose atrocities had been so vividly described. A vast army prepared itself to defend the honour of Christendom and to avenge the sufferings of her children. The soldiers of the Cross felt certain that they need not go so far afield as the East to find anti-Christian maligners of Christ, the allies, as they believed, of the perpetrators of the atrocities, to whose tale they had listened with horror. At their very doors were colonies of

Jews, and right worthily would they open their holy mission if they rid the earth of the blasphemers within immediate reach of their hands. The Crusaders, therefore, in their march across Europe left behind them a trail of martyred Jews. Community after community from France to Hungary was utterly destroyed, not even the bishops having the power, although often the will, to protect these victims of the Crusaders' zeal.

Massacres of Jews on the Continent.

The disasters that followed the First Crusade were avenged on other helpless Jews of Europe. The Second Crusade was the signal for a recrudescence in the anti-Jewish activity. Bernard of Clairvaux, the spiritual leader of the movement, protested against the barbarities. The object of the Crusade, he contended, was the honour of the Christian religion. The reconquest of the Holy Land was itself but a means to that end, to which massacres of Jews would in nowise assist. But Bernard had aroused a spirit of fanaticism that it was not in his power to quell. Another monk, Rudolph of Mainz, carried the Cross through the Rhine valley, calling for the slaughter of the Jews, the enemies of Christianity. His appeal was not uttered in vain, and among the victims was at least one English Jew who happened to be in the centre of disturbance at the time. But the efforts of Bernard were successful in narrowing the limits of the conflagration. Bernard himself met the monk Rudolph in open disputation, and later addressed a letter to the peoples of Western Europe protesting against the persecution of the Jews.

Echoes in England.

The agitation on the Continent had its echoes in England, and Bernard's letters were sent across the Channel and the North Sea, as well as to the Continental countries. But the vague dislike of the people was quickened by the Crusades into a positive hatred of the Jews. The general crime attributed to the Moslems of circumcising Christians and using their blood for their own anti-Christian practices was translated into a definite instance of the Blood Accusation in England, and the opening of the Second Crusade coincided with the supposed martyrdom of St. William of Norwich (1144). This martyrdom was the first of a long series of similar crimes laid to the charge of the Jews in all parts of Christendom without any acceptable

The Blood Accusation.

St. William of Norwich.

evidence. William, who at the time of his death was twelve years old, was the son of a widow. While engaged as an apprentice he was, according to one account, stolen, according to another, bought by the Jews, and after having undergone various tortures in imitation of the passion of Jesus, was martyred on the eve of the festival of Passover. There are several accounts of the discovery of the crime, but so little worthy of credence was the evidence which could be adduced that the sheriff refused to allow the Jews to appear in the Bishop's Court to answer the charge and took them under his protection. The legends suggest that he was bribed to take this action, and to suppress all evidence of the guilt of the Jews. The secular clergy were divided in opinion concerning the truth of the charge. Among the citizens, and even the monks of the cloister, there was also a large party of sceptics. The bishop of the diocese, Eborard, disbelieved the story whose chief supporter among the Churchmen was the Prior William Turbe, shortly afterwards himself Bishop of Norwich. The details of the legend are absurdly improbable. The Blood Accusation, of which this incident was the first result, was first suggested by Theobald, a converted Jew of Cambridge, who tried to implicate the whole of Jewry in the charge of sacrificing little children in order to gratify their hatred of Christianity. According to his libellous assertions lots were cast each year to decide the town in Europe in which the next ' martyrdom ' was to take place. Thus the murder of William of Norwich had been decided upon at a Council of Jews held at Narbonne the previous year.

The Jews of Norwich attacked.

One result of the accusation was seriously to affect the fortunes of the Jewish community in Norwich. The populace was so incensed with the Jews that, despite the protection of the sheriff, many of them were killed, and others fled in all directions to escape a similar fate. The accusation once made was unfortunately repeated elsewhere. In 1168 the Jews of Gloucester were accused of a similar crime, and in 1181 it was the turn of those of Bury St. Edmunds. Other accusations were made at Winchester in 1192 and 1232, at London in 1244, and finally at Lincoln in 1255. In every instance a shrine and miracles attached themselves to the burial-place of the victim, and whoever suffered from these terrible accusations, the local abbey or cathedral invariably reaped a rich and prolonged harvest. It has also been pointed out that the Blood Accusation was as a rule made at a time at which the Royal Treasury needed replenishing. With the exception of the last-mentioned incident, that at Lincoln, in no instance was the charge submitted to judicial scrutiny. Prejudice had prepared the people to accept the accusation wherever made, and advantage seems always to have been taken of it whenever a child disappeared in the neighbourhood of a Jewish community. The story, with minor variations, was always the same. The legendary history of St. William of Norwich was taken as the pattern, and the libels of Theobald formed the basis of the general anti-Jewish accusations.

The place of the Jew in the national life.

As has already been pointed out, Jews were brought to England by William I to fill a hiatus in the social and political organization. Their function was confined to the commercial and financial sphere; all others were sufficiently safeguarded by the system, the interrelation of the Church and State, by which the country was governed. To every public office in the community were attached religious ceremonials of a character that rendered impossible the participation in them of a Jew by religion. The holding of land by the ordinary feudal tenure was also bound up with a similar formality, in connexion with the homage paid by the tenant, and thus the Jew was debarred from it.[1] Moreover, the Guilds in which the artisan elements in the nation banded themselves together were to a great extent religious confraternities, from which Jews were also necessarily excluded.[2] In the Feudal system, as adapted in England, Jews were given a definite function, and, by the closing of all other paths, from this there was no escape. The English Jew of the early Middle Ages had either to be a capitalist, in most instances a moneylender, or to depart the country. In the early period of the Settlement the relations between the clergy and the Jews were quite friendly. The latter were regarded as a somewhat incongruous element in the population, but hopes were felt for their absorption, by means of religious conversion. The hopes of the clergy for such a result were, however, not realized; on the other hand, it appears that the Jews were at least as successful as the Christians in making converts. The attitude of the clergy in consequence gradually changed, and the anti-Jewish complexion which their mutual relations gradually took was not retarded, as has already been noticed, by the outburst of anti-Jewish activity that accompanied the Crusades, and by the result, in England, of the Blood Accusation. Medieval Christians also were exasperated by the critical incredulity with which the Jews received the miracles and the adoration of images which to so great an extent accompanied their worship. The Jews were not satisfied to cast ridicule in private among themselves upon the manifestations; in some instances they interrupted religious observances with their criticisms, greatly to the indignation of the participants and also to the inconvenience and punishment of the critics.

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[1] A Jew was, however, entitled to hold half the land of a debtor until the debt was paid (P. C. Webb, *The Question whether a Jew*, p. 18; Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, i, p. 168), and Mr. Picciotto has called attention to several apparent instances of landowning by Jews.

[2] There is, however, one instance at Winchester of a Jewish guildsman, Benedict, son of Abraham, who was admitted in 1268 'into full membership of the liberty of the city, and citizenship, and gild-rights in the Merchant Gild, with all the privileges pertaining to the same liberty'.

The Church and 'usury'.

That Jews were left undisturbed in the practice of usury[1] was due to the Church legislation forbidding Christians to take part in that sphere of activity. Thus the whole field of finance was left free to the Jews at a time, too, when the necessity for the erection of many important buildings devoted to religious as well as to secular purposes arose. Without capital no large building scheme could be undertaken, and without the Jews the amount of available capital would have been quite inadequate. Castles and monasteries in all parts of the country were built with money borrowed from the Jews, and it was with the assistance of Jewish financiers that more than one of the stately and magnificent cathedrals that to-day grace the cities of England were raised. The fashion of using stone instead of wood for building material was also set by the Jews—the oldest existing stone house in the country is that of Aaron of Lincoln. The purpose of the Jews in erecting such dwellings was for protection as much as for comfort—and the minor barons were only able to follow their example with Jewish financial assistance. Jewish loans created Christian debtors, and hence among the clergy and the minor barons the Jewish creditors became especially unpopular. The ecclesiastical discouragement of usury on the part of Christians, of itself of considerable influence, was reinforced by the action of the State. The king, whose property the Jews were,[1] came to the assistance of the Church by decreeing that all properties of usurers should on their decease accrue to the crown, which thus became, as Jacobs pointed out, the universal legatee of the English Jews. The king, however, seldom claimed the whole of his rights. In practice there was a sort of partnership between the crown and the Jews of England. It was more to the king's interest to leave the bulk of a deceased Jew's property in the hands of his natural heir, who (differing from the king, a good Christian) could use it remuneratively. In one famous instance, that of Aaron of Lincoln (*c.* 1125–*c.* 1186), the crown retained the whole of the Jew's property, which was so considerable, notwithstanding the loss after his death of his treasures at sea, that a special branch of the Exchequer, which continued active for many years, had to be created to deal with his debts. These amounted to £20,000, equal to more than half of the king's income. Aaron is first mentioned in 1166, when he appears as a creditor of the king, Henry II, to the extent of £616 12*s.* 8*d.* Aaron was the leading English banker of the day, and was represented by agents in all parts of the country. In fact, almost all the members of the Anglo-Jewish community appear to have been connected with his business transactions, and most of them acted as his agents.

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[1] This term should here and henceforth be interpreted as a synonym for business in the widest sense.

Partnership between the king and the Jews.

Aaron of Lincoln.

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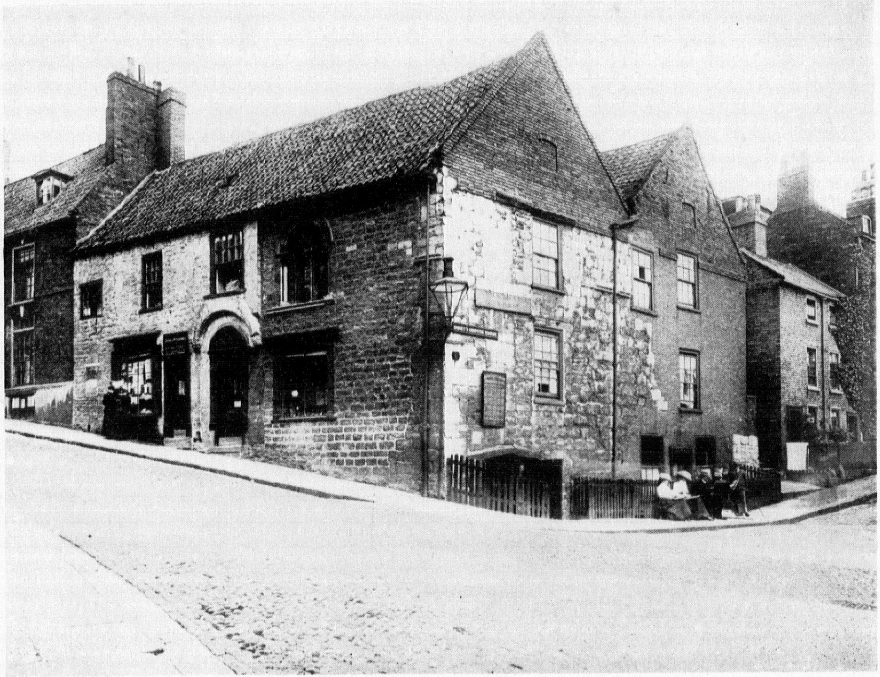
[1] According to Stubbs, 'The Jews, like the forests, were the special property of the king, and as property worth careful cultivation, they had peculiar privileges and a very dangerous protection.'

For a time he was in partnership with Isaac fil (son of) Josce, head of the London Community and officially recognized chief Jew of the kingdom. Aaron lent large sums of money for religious buildings, and it was with his assistance that at least sixteen abbeys and cathedrals, including the Abbey of St. Albans, Lincoln Minster, Peterborough Cathedral, as well as nine Cistercian abbeys, were erected. At his death the owners of these edifices were indebted to him to the extent of 6,400 marks (nearly half a million pounds in the present currency). Thus, by the instrumentality of capital provided by Aaron, the churchmen of Angevin England were enabled to raise those architectural monuments, the just cause of pride to modern England. Aaron's activity was not, however, confined to financial transactions of this description. In commerce also his master-mind attained a position of eminence, and, among the records of the period still extant, are to be found references to his dealings on a considerable scale in articles of general consumption.

The king's income from the Jews.

This tacit partnership between the crown and the Jews often made it an advantage to a debtor not to repay the capital of his debt. There was always a chance of the Jewish creditor dying, and the debtor might then, by paying a composition to the king, get quit of the debt at a relatively small cost to himself. The king's revenue derived from the Jews did not arise solely from these forfeitures. The Jews were not exempt from the usual fines levied on a variety of occasions in a man's life, such as marriage, journeys, &c., as well as the ransoms and compositions they were forced to pay in return for the king's benevolence, protection, licence to trade, &c. In addition, in the purchase of justice Jews were among the king's best customers, and there were fines relating to law proceedings, amercements imposed on account of misdemeanours, and fines on discharge from imprisonment. Moreover, after the death of Stephen, the Jews were not overlooked when the king was anxious to raise funds by means of gifts or tallages. In 1168, on the conclusion of an alliance with Frederick Barbarossa, some of the leading Jews were seized and sent abroad, probably as hostages, and on the remainder a tallage of 5,000



HOUSE OF AARON OF LINCOLN, STEEP HILL, LINCOLN

marks was levied. The same king, Henry II, twenty years later, raised £60,000 (a quarter of their movables) by similar means from the Jews of England, while the remainder of the population contributed only £70,000—a tenth. Jacobs estimated that at this period a twelfth of the annual income of the State was derived from Jewish sources. The revenues derived by the crown from the Jews, and indirectly from the people, were no source of pleasure to that growing element in the population that was anxious to curtail the power of the crown. Here was a source of revenue over which Parliament could have no control. There can be no doubt that this was one of the several causes that led to the expulsion of the Jews from England at the end of the thirteenth century. The Jewish element being so profitable a one in so far as the crown was concerned, disagreement between the interests of the Church and the king with regard to the conversion of Jews is not surprising. It was decidedly to the king's interest that the English Jews should not be enticed away from Judaism. He did not go so far as to forbid such change of faith or to browbeat converts, as William II had done, back to their original community, but he took steps to penalize converts, as a discouragement to the adoption of Christianity. The property of a Jew leaving his ancestral faith was forfeited to the crown, which thus compensated itself for the loss of the prospective profits that would have accrued to it if the Jew had remained within his community. Edward I, who was exceptionally devout, however, devoted the revenues he received from the Jews to the *Dómus Conversorum* and other forms of encouragement to the adoption of Christianity.

The Jews' value to the State.

It is thus seen that the Jews of Angevin England by their assistance enabled the Church and the barons to erect ecclesiastical buildings, and that by means of Jewish money the latter were put in a position to discharge their feudal obligations to the king, as well as to take part in the contests for the recovery of the Holy Land. The king, on the other hand, by means of funds derived from Jewish sources, was materially assisted in the government of the kingdom, and his missions abroad, both war-like and peaceful, were rendered easier. It was found that Jewish money could be useful in other directions also, and the results of a loan by Josce, Jew of Gloucester, in 1170 rudely awakened the king to the power of money and to the necessity for keeping the transactions of his Jews strictly under control. In that year Richard Strongbow landed with an armed following in Ireland, and his operations ultimately led to the conquest of that island and its final annexation to the English crown. The expedition of Strongbow was, however, merely a private venture conducted in defiance of the express prohibition of Henry, who feared, probably with justice, that Strongbow was anxious to carve out for himself a kingdom in the neighbouring island, although in its results it redounded to the advantage of the king of England. One of the direct consequences of the king's anger at this unauthorized expedition was the mulcting in fines of the Jews, who by their loans had rendered it possible. In fact, in the absence of Jewish financiers Henry's mind would have remained at ease, for Strongbow would have found it extremely difficult, if it had been at all possible, to translate his ambition into action.

The Jews and the conquest of Ireland.

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CHAPTER IV

RICHARD I's CORONATION

(1154–1190)

Prosperity.

DESPITE the occasional troubles and annoyances to which the Jews were subject, and the rising tide of anti-Jewish feeling on the part of most classes in the nation, the period that ended with the death of Henry II was the Golden Age in early Anglo-Jewish history. Stephen by his protection prevented any imitation of crusading barbarities in his kingdom, and under his successor, Henry II, with the exception of occasional financial oppression, the Jews enjoyed the widest liberty. About the middle of the twelfth century an incursion of the Flemings into the south-eastern counties involved the Christian population in considerable hardship, and Jews suffered along with their fellow-Englishmen; but the accession of Henry soon remedied this state of affairs, and within three months the Flemings had left the country, 'the disinherited get back their paternal property. . . . There is peace everywhere . . . there come forth in safety, from the cities and castles, merchants to the fairs, Jews to seek their creditors' (debtors?). The Jews spread still further throughout the country, and settled in many new centres. About 1164 the legal jurisdiction of the Jews was organized to their satisfaction. They were allowed their own tribunal, wherein Jewish law was enforced, and in this all disputes between Jews were settled. Of course, in cases in which Christians were involved, this court had no jurisdiction; but even in such instances, as has already been noted, the Jews were allowed great advantages over Christians, inasmuch as the oath of one Jew was of as much avail as the oaths of twelve Christians.

The legal jurisdiction.

In financial disputes the Jewish creditor had only to prove the capital, while on the debtor lay the onus of disproving the charges for interest. Thirteen years later, in 1177, a severe disability, under which the Jews had hitherto laboured, was removed. Hitherto they had been allowed but one cemetery, and the bodies of Jews, wherever they had died, had to be brought to London for burial. Henceforward local cemeteries were established in various parts of the country. So satisfactory, on the whole, was the condition of affairs in England that Jewish scholars of European fame visited the country; among others Abraham ibn Ezra in 1158, and Isaac of Chernigov in 1181.

Relations with the people.

On the expulsion of the Jews from France by Philip Augustus the following year, a considerable number of the exiles took refuge in this country. The Jews of England lived on fairly good terms with their neighbours, including the clergy, and were accustomed to take refuge with their valuables in the abbeys at times of commotion. The community also drew recruits from among their neighbours, of whom at least two were Cistercian monks.

An instance of the free intercourse between Jew and Christian at this time is given by Giraldus Cambrensis. A certain Jew, travelling towards Shrewsbury, found himself in the company of Richard Peché, the archdeacon of Malpas, and a dean named Deville. In the course of conversation the archdeacon mentioned that his jurisdiction extended from a place called Illstreet as far as Malpas. On hearing this, the Jew wittily replied: 'Say you so, sir? God grant me then a good deliverance! for it seems I am riding in a country where Sin (Peché) is the archdeacon, and the Devil himself the dean; where the entrance into the archdeaconry is Ill-Street, and the going-forth from it Bad Steps (Malpas).' A few years later, on the occasion of a quarrel between the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury, in which the popular sympathies were on the side of the latter, the Jews of the city took the same side, and sent food and drink to the convent, 'and likewise prayed for the continuance of the convent in their synagogues. The archbishop did not cease to take away nor the Jews to give.

The archbishop excommunicated, the Jews prayed. A wonderful contrast indeed!'[1] We learn also, from both English and Jewish sources, of the social intercourse between the Jews and Christians of early Plantagenet England.

The situation changes.

The satisfactory situation of the Jews of England was, however, not destined to endure, and the first sign of the coming change did not tarry long. Hitherto the Jews, though suffering from many disabilities as was inevitable, had at the same time enjoyed important privileges. They were under the special protection of the crown and had full liberty of movement; although debarred from many occupations, and from holding land by feudal tenure, they were yet able to occupy estates, and at least one entry in Domesday Book is believed to refer to a Jew. Moreover, the public records of the twelfth century contain even references to Anglo-Jewish knights. The Jews had liberty of worship. In their liability to fines on succession to property they were only on an equality with Christian usurers, and there are instances in which the property of deceased Jews was freed from confiscation on proof that they died innocent of the offence of usury.

The Assize of Arms.

In 1181 came the first act of anti-Jewish discrimination—the opening of a century of persecution and massacre. By the Assize of Arms of that year it was enacted that, 'No Jew shall keep with him mail or hauberk, but let him sell or give them away, or in some other way remove them from him.' Thus were the Jews disarmed in preparation for the massacres of eight years later.

The first two Crusades, it has been seen, fraught with intense suffering for the Jewries of the Continent, left England untouched and hardly affected. But a distant murmur of the tragical occurrences on the Continent reached the ears of Anglo-Jewry, and even the English people took relatively little more than an academic interest in the first two great efforts for the recovery of the Holy Land. For England and the Jews of England the Third Crusade differed in most respects from its two predecessors. In the first place the English contingent in the joint army of Christendom no longer consisted of a

The Third Crusade.

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[1] *Chronicles of Canterbury* (Rolls Series), i, p. 405.

few individuals, each only concerned with himself and his retainers. One-half of the new army had been recruited in England, and at its head, the joint-leader of the expedition, was the first soldier of Christendom, who had just ascended the English throne.

On the Jews of England the first effect of the new Crusade was the levy of the immense tallage of £60,000, previously mentioned. The preparations commenced before the death of Henry II, and it was under that monarch that this act of financial oppression was perpetrated. The following year, 1189, the Jews of London suffered in their persons as well as in their property. Richard I's coronation was the earliest English coronation of which there is any detailed account, and it was conducted on an elaborate scale. The ceremony itself took place in Westminster Abbey, and was followed by a banquet in the neighbouring palace. Of the disturbances that accompanied the coronation there are several accounts, which, differing slightly in details, are in agreement on all points of consequence. Among those who made their way to Westminster to take part in the important event was a deputation of the leading Jews of the kingdom, bearing presents for the king, from whom they hoped for a continuation of the favour that his predecessors had granted them. Although the chief Jewish centres in the kingdom had sent their leading members to take part in the deputation, these were not allowed to be present at the ceremony, either because it was a sacrilege for a Jew to be admitted to a Christian place of worship, or on account of the fear lest Jews (and women were excluded from the coronation for a similar reason) might exercise sorcery over the participants in the ceremony. The Jews, however, though debarred from entering the church, mingled with the crowd that assembled at its gates. Here, in the jostling of the crowd, aided probably by the eagerness of the Jews to see something of the ceremony, one or two Jews were pushed through the gates, and the keepers, on perceiving this, rudely beat them and drove them out. The populace outside, collected from all parts and to a considerable extent attendants of the nobles who were taking part in the ceremony, remember-

Richard I's coronation

ing the prohibition the king had issued against the intended Jewish visitors, immediately came to the conclusion that the king desired his people to celebrate the coronation by attacking the Jews. Little encouragement was needed for a riot, in which the Jews were the victims and the Christians the assailants, to arise. Every Jew found was beaten: many killed. They were pursued to their houses, which were attacked, and if too strong to be broken into—for the Jews' houses were among the strongest in the kingdom—the thatched roofs were set on fire, and in many instances the houses burnt together with their inmates. Rapine, murder, and plunder became the order of the day. The greed for spoil grew still stronger, and Christian turned against Christian in the scramble for the plunder. The conflagration was not confined to the houses of the Jews, but spread to those of their Christian neighbours; rioters in their rage for booty were not too careful to confine their attention to Jewish houses, and occasionally, intentionally or by accident, broke into others occupied by Christians that gave promise of being worth the trouble of attack. Some of the Jews took refuge in the Tower: others in the houses of Christian friends.

London Jewry sacked.

Action of the king.

The king, hearing of the tumult while at his coronation banquet,[1] sent Ranulph de Glanvil, the chief justice, together with several of the nobles, to put an end to the rioting and to protect the Jews from the populace. The latter had, however, by this time become so excited and intent on outrage and plunder that the royal messengers were ignored, and, to avoid being themselves attacked, they were compelled to withdraw. The rioting continued unabated from midday on the Sunday until two o'clock on the following afternoon, the burning houses giving light by night. When at length the movement subsided, it was not because the populace had recovered from its intoxication or repented of its outburst, but merely from exhaustion. Whether Richard was friendly disposed to the Jews or not, he was certainly very indignant that the occasion of his coronation should have been marred by such a riotous outbreak, and that his first command as King of England should have been disregarded. He was perhaps more anxious that his offended dignity, rather than that the murdered and plundered Jews, should be avenged, but insuperable difficulties stood in the way of due punishment. If the transgressors had been nobles or prominent members of the community they could have been dealt with, although delay might have been expedient. The uprising was, however, a popular one, and its participants were unknown. On the conclusion of the coronation celebrations they had scattered with their masters into all parts of the kingdom. Those masters could not be held responsible for offences of which personally they were guiltless, although there was a suspicion that some of the barons were not altogether unconnected with the movement, which must have appealed to many of them as an easy method of liquidating the debts they owed to the Jews. Richard was determined, however, that the criminals should not go altogether unpunished. Several were apprehended, and three hanged: one because he had stolen goods of a fellow-Christian, and the other two because a fire they had kindled to burn a Jew's house had, unfortunately, spread to that of a neighbouring Christian. The outbreak was not merely of an economic and plundering description; it had also a very decided religious basis. The persecuted Jews were, in some cases, offered by their assailants the alternatives of death and baptism. The overwhelming majority unhesitatingly preferred the martyr's fate. A few, however, were cast in a less heroic mould. The representatives of the important Jewish centre of York in the deputation that had intended waiting upon the king were Josce and Benedict. Both were involved in the tumult and fled. The former escaped from his persecutors, but Benedict, less active, was captured and beaten. His vigour impaired by age and his wounds, Benedict chose baptism in preference to death, and was immediately baptized in the Church of the Innocents by William, Prior of the Church of St. Mary of York. The following day Benedict, whose Christian name was William, was sent for by the king. When questioned he replied that,

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[1] According to some accounts the outbreak occurred in consequence of the penetration of Jews into the banqueting-hall, subsequent to the coronation ceremony.

The punishment.

Benedict of York.

although having accepted baptism in order to escape death, he was a Jew at heart. Turning to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the king inquired how Benedict should be dealt with. The churchman, who was not over-learned, and more fitted for the battlefield than for the council chamber or the altar—he was killed shortly afterwards at the walls of Acre—replied testily, 'If he will not be a servant of God, let him be a servant of the Devil', and so, as Hoveden says, Benedict, 'like a dog to his vomit . . . returned to the Jewish depravity'. The terrible ordeal through which Benedict had passed, however, speedily effected the consummation from which the act of temporary apostasy had saved him. On the way home to York, Benedict died at Northampton, where he owned property. It is related that his body was refused Jewish burial on account of his apostasy, and Christians declined to dispose of it on the ground of his relapse to Judaism. A few months later his widow and children were burnt in their house during the outbreak at York.

Despite the efforts of the king to protect the Jews, in furtherance of which he sent writs to all parts of the kingdom, forbidding any molestation to be offered to them, the events in the capital found their echoes in the provinces. Exaggerated accounts spread throughout the country of the great riches the people had acquired by the plunder of the Jews, and those who heard these stories were anxious to imitate their neighbours and enrich themselves also at the expense of the hated Jews. Anti-Jewish outbreaks arose almost simultaneously in all parts of the country. At Dunstable it is said the Jews escaped massacre by accepting Christianity in a body. Of the outbreak at Lynn the following explanation was given when the townspeople were subsequently called to account. It was said that a Jew, who had been converted to Christianity, had aroused by his apostasy the enmity of his fellow-Jews of the town. These waylaid him one day for the purpose of getting him into their power, but he fled and took refuge in a church. The Jews followed him there, and also entered the sacred building. The townspeople, although indignant at the outrage, refrained from all interference, in consequence of the writ of

Anti-Jewish outbreaks throughout the country.

At Lynn.

the king concerning the Jews, that had recently reached them; but the foreign crew of a ship lying in the harbour had no such scruples. Immediately on learning of the sacrilege, they landed, bent on avenging it. The houses of the Jews were burnt, the owners murdered, and their valuables stolen. Loaded with booty the sailors returned to their ship and sailed away, leaving the townsfolk to explain the incident to the messengers of their indignant ruler. Considerable doubt must have been thrown on this narrative by an incident that immediately succeeded this outbreak. A Jewish physician, well known and respected in Lynn, arrived in that town to find the bodies of his co-religionists lying in the streets and their property stolen. Indignant at the sight, he denounced the atrocities and threatened vengeance. Despite his popularity, his outspokenness cost him his life, although the foreign sailors were no longer in the harbour.

At Stamford. During the fair of mid-Lent, a number of young Crusaders assembled at Stamford. Anxious to emulate the exploits of their predecessors in the Wars of the Cross, but, unable for lack of means to set out on their expedition, they determined to attain both ends by one and the same means. The Jews were attacked, but for the most part took refuge in the Castle. Comparatively few were slain. Their houses, however, left unprotected, were sacked by the Crusaders. On this occasion one of the earliest recorded instances of a baron openly showing his sympathy with the perpetrators of anti-Jewish excesses occurred. Gerard de Camville, a great baron, and at the time High Sheriff of the county, was among the abettors of the outrage. At Norwich. A month earlier, on February 6, the Jews of Norwich had suffered a similar attack. In that instance also the majority took refuge in the Royal Castle and thus escaped. Those, however, who had not the time to do so were slaughtered, and all the available property of the Jews pillaged.

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CHAPTER V

THE MASSACRE AT YORK

(1190)

The York Community.

OF all the incidents in the massacres of 1189–90, those at York, the northern capital of the kingdom, were the most terrible. The earliest reference in the records of the York Jewish community appears under the year 1130, but this is of such a nature as to make it certain that the community had then been long established, and was in a position of great prosperity. The overshadowing position occupied by Aaron of Lincoln passed on his death to two Jews of York, Josce and Benedict, who, it will be remembered, were to have represented the northern community at the coronation of King Richard. Both were men of wealth, and their extensive operations and noble mansions aroused the comments of contemporary chroniclers. So long as the king remained in England, the knowledge that any further attacks on the Jews would earn his stern disapproval, and probably lead to punishment, suppressed all active manifestations of the dislike which, for different reasons, the Jews had by now aroused among most classes in the country. With Richard, however, all other desires were subservient to the ambition to be the instrument of the recovery of the Holy Land. To this end even the Crown of England was but a means, and, at the first opportunity, Richard crossed to the Continent on his way to Jerusalem. His departure was immediately made sensible to the Jews in all parts of the kingdom; the hitherto (with few exceptions) passive hostility became active aggression; the lowering looks and muttered curses were rapidly translated into deeds of violence. Of all the blows that fell in quick

Richard leaves England.

succession on Anglo-Jewry during the year 1190, the most crushing was that which annihilated the prosperous community of York. Elsewhere pillage and murder were rampant, and but sections of the Jewish population, frequently minorities, escaped. At York the whole of the local Jewry was destroyed and not an individual Jew survived.

Under cover of an outbreak of fire, whether incendiary or accidental is not known, in the city of York, an attack was made by the populace on the house of Benedict, who had died at Northampton on his way home from London. The house was sacked; its contents plundered; Benedict's widow, children, and friends who, apparently fearing an outbreak, had taken refuge in it, were murdered, and the building destroyed. This, the first incident in the excesses of York, was isolated. His friends' fate, however, alarmed Josce, who, applying to the governor of the Royal Castle, was invited to place his family and his valuables there for greater security. This offer was accepted, and Josce and his family, together with a considerable treasure, took refuge in the Castle, his house being left with a small guard. The rabble, however, once having tasted Jewish blood, craved for more. Possibly they were further excited by the knowledge of Josce's wealth. Once more they collected at night, and Josce's house shared the fate of that of Benedict. By this time it was manifest that great danger threatened the Jews of York, and especially any who might remain unprotected in the city. The greater number of the Jewish inhabitants hastily deserted their houses, which were immediately sacked, and joined Josce and his family in the Royal Castle. Those who hesitated to do likewise, or tarried too long, were slain. Possibly, as in the cases of Norwich and Stamford, the protection of the Royal Castle and its governor would have been sufficient, and the orgy of lawlessness having run its course the Jews might have returned once more with their rescued property to their ruined homes. Unnerved, however, by the atrocities to which they had been witness, terrified by the rumours that had reached them of the awful fate of kindred communities elsewhere, doubtful whom they might trust in their extremity, and possibly also deceived by

The Jews take refuge in the Castle.

false counsellors anxious to deprive them of their only protection, the Jews were themselves the cause of the next entry in the tale of their misfortunes. The governor, having to leave the Castle on business one day, was refused re-admission on his return by the Jews he had sheltered there, fearful lest he might have arranged to betray them. Such, it had been suggested to the refugees, was the object of the governor's business in the town. The governor, of course, could not remain passive while excluded from the Castle entrusted to his charge; and, unable to recover its custody, he appealed for assistance to the sheriff of the county, who happened to be in the city at the time. His application, if it needed any support, readily obtained it from those leaders of the anti-Jewish movement who held high positions in the realm, and the sheriff consented to use his forces in recovering the Royal Castle from the hands of the Jewish rebels. His army was immediately joined by all those who had hitherto been prevented by the walls of the Castle from assuaging their thirst for Jewish blood. The combined forces speedily attacked the Castle, with such zeal on the part of the irregulars that the sheriff divined their object, and, repenting of his determination, gave orders for the attack to cease. To foment a disturbance is, however, far easier than to suppress one, and this the sheriff soon learnt. His orders to attack were carried out almost before they were given; those to desist passed unheeded. The better class of inhabitants as a whole refused to give any countenance to the excesses, or to take part in the attack on the Castle. The clergy, however, had no scruples in the matter. They eagerly joined the mob, and one in particular, a member of the *Præmonstratensian* Order, was especially zealous in the cause. Attired in his white surplice, he stood all day in the foremost ranks, exhorting those around him with the cry: 'Destroy the enemies of Christ! Destroy the enemies of Christ!' So convinced was he of the holiness of his mission, that before going to the battle each morning this man of God was accustomed to partake of the Eucharist. Overcome by his zeal, he ventured one day too close to the walls and was crushed by a stone from the battlements—the only one of the besiegers to be killed.

The governor excluded.

The Castle attacked.

Terrible plight of the Jews.

Meanwhile the plight of the Jews within the Castle was terrible. There was huddled together a miscellaneous crowd of men, women, and children, old and young, of all classes. Without arms they could only interpose the walls and gates between themselves and their enemies. Still worse, they were without food, and, even if able to withstand the attacks of those without, must inevitably have succumbed to starvation. Friendless in the midst of a hostile country there could be no hope of relief, nor did it seem that the passions of the mob would be assuaged in time to save their destined victims. To open the gates meant instant massacre; to keep them closed, either the same fate or death by starvation. The hopeless condition of affairs was recognized by the defenders. A council was called. Up rose the learned Rabbi Yomtob of Joigny, a scholar of renown, who had come to York from France as the spiritual head of the community, and said: 'Men of Israel, the God of our fathers, to Whom none can say what doest Thou? commands us, at this time, to die for His law; and behold, death is even before our eyes, and there is nothing left us to consider but how to undergo it in the most reputable and easy manner. If we fall into the hands of our enemies (which I think there is no possibility of escaping), our deaths will not only be cruel, but ignominious. They will not only torment us, but despitefully use us. My advice therefore is, that we voluntarily surrender those lives to our Creator, which He seems to call for, and not wait for any other executioners than ourselves. The fact is both rational and lawful; nor do we want examples, from amongst our illustrious ancestors, to prove it so. They have frequently proceeded in the like manner, upon the same occasions.'[1]

The Jews take counsel.

The Jews destroy themselves to escape the populace.

Such a heroic course of action did not meet with unanimous approval, and several whose courage was insufficient to enable them to take the supreme step expressed disapproval of it. Then the rabbi rose a second time and called upon those who

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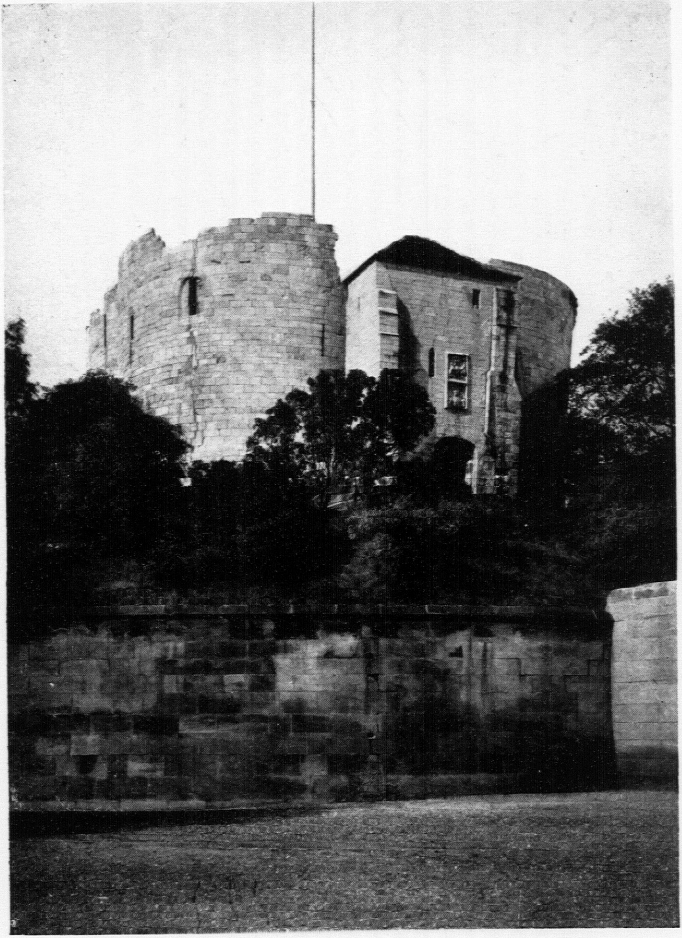
[1] This speech of Rabbi Yomtob is quoted from Tovey's translation of Walter of Hemingburgh. It is undoubtedly apocryphal, and appears to be based on that of Eleazar at Masada, as reported by Josephus on a similar occasion.



CLIFFORD'S TOWER, YORK

were not of his opinion to withdraw. This they did, but the great majority remained behind and steadfastly proceeded to put into execution the advice they had received. First they burnt or otherwise destroyed all their property so that none of it should fall into the hands of their enemies. Josce with a sharp knife cut the throats of 'his much loved wife, Anna' and their children. The other heads of families imitated his example, and then slew one another, until at length Rabbi Yomtob and Josce alone remained alive. Josce was put to death by his companion, who finally slew himself.

Those Jews whose courage had shrunk from the supreme ordeal were meanwhile, during that dreadful night, defending themselves from the flames that had spread from the property of the Jews to the building itself. In the morning, when the besiegers returned to their task, they were received by the wretched remnant of victims, who, from the battlements, narrated the terrible events that had happened during the night within the keep of York Castle. In confirmation of their statements they threw the bodies of the slaughtered over the battlements. The survivors begged for mercy. Any price were they willing to pay for their lives. Willingly would they accept baptism if only their lives were spared. The offer was accepted, and the terror-stricken fugitives were allowed to come out of the Castle. But the object of the besiegers was not to gain converts, but to shed still more Jewish blood. Despite the promise of protection, despite the terrible occurrences that should have moved to pity the most callous of murderers, despite the harmlessness of the last insignificant remnant of what had once been the wealthy, distinguished, and prosperous Jewish community of York, the fugitives were barely without the gates before they were massacred. And then the true meaning of the whole movement became apparent. From the Castle the mob, influenced by those who knew how to profit by Jewish misfortunes, made its way to the Minster. By threats they compelled the guardians to deliver up all the records of debts to the Jews deposited there for safety. These were then set on fire within the building itself, and when they were consumed, the mob dispersed, and the

The survivors massacred.

The records of debts destroyed.

city returned to its wonted tranquillity. The number of Jewish victims at York has been variously estimated at from 150 to 1,500. From the subsequent punishment meted out by Richard, the names of some of the ringleaders in the disturbances have been preserved. Many were apparently mere citizens of York, but in addition there were several members of the most prominent families in the north of England. Of the nobles who were punished for participation in the disturbance, the following names are recorded: Richard Malebisse, Kt. (punningly translated Richard the Evil Beast), his squires Walter de Carton and Richard de Cuckney, Sir William de Percy, Picot de Percy, Roger de Ripun, Alan Malekake, Philip of Fauconbridge, Marmaduke Darell, Robert de Gant, and Robert de Turnham. From these names and further references to them in the records, still another confirmation of the real reason for the *émeute* is to be found. With few exceptions these barons were all indebted to the Jews, and to them the destruction of the records of their indebtedness must have seemed an easy method of settling their accounts. They were, however, labouring under a delusion, for duplicates of at least some of the destroyed records were in existence, and for years after the massacre the officers of the king were busy collecting the debts, forfeited to the crown, due to the martyred Jews of York.

The leaders of the outbreak.

At Bury St. Edmunds, where the monastery had got deeply into debt with the Jews, the sacristan was accustomed to shelter them and their belongings in times of commotion. But on the 18th of March, 1190, fifty-seven Jews were slain, and shortly afterwards the remainder were expelled at the instance of Abbot Samson on the ground that every man of the town had to be a vassal of St. Edmund, which no Jew, of course, could be. At Lincoln the Jews saved themselves by taking refuge in the Castle. They were befriended by the Bishop Saint Hugh, whose death ten years later was very sincerely mourned by the local community. At Colchester, Thetford, and Ospringe also, the Jews suffered massacre.

Other massacres.

In due course tidings of the atrocities reached the ears of the king, who was enraged both that his injunctions not to harm the Jews had been disobeyed, and also that the evidence of the debts, which, in the natural course, would have fallen to the crown, should have been destroyed. Geoffrey Rydel, Bishop of Ely, the Chancellor of the Kingdom, was commanded forthwith to repair to York and inflict punishment on the authors of the outrages. Collecting an army he soon arrived, but the miscreants primarily responsible had either fled into Scotland or joined the Crusade. The governor of the Castle and the sheriff were both removed from their offices on the ground that they were responsible in not preventing the disturbances, and several of the leading citizens compelled to give their recognizances that they would appear to answer for their conduct before the king on his return. The estates of Robert de Gant, Robert de Turnham, and Richard Malebisse, who had fled, were confiscated, but they were, after different intervals, restored. Notwithstanding the massacre, none of the guilty participants paid the penalty with his life.

The king's action.

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CHAPTER VI

THE EXCHEQUER OF THE JEWS
(1194–1216)

Richard inquires into the outbreaks.

AT this point, however, Richard was unwilling to let the matter rest, but until his return to England nothing further could be done. This return was considerably delayed by Richard's captivity, but when at length he reached England in 1194, he set zealously to work to have the position of the Jews carefully investigated. Justices itinerant were appointed to proceed to the different cities in which anti-Jewish excesses had taken place to make inquiry into them, and at the same time to get exact statements of the property of the Jews who had been slain, and especially of the debts that were due to them. In the same year ordinances were drawn up for the registration of the estates and possessions of the Jews. The outbreak at York had shown that the financial interests of the Jews, and consequently also of the king, were placed in considerable jeopardy by the system of recording debts to the Jews then in force. The northern barons had undoubtedly been greatly influenced in their attack on the Jews by the hope, justified in many instances, that in destroying the available records of their indebtedness they would at the same time liquidate the debts. Although, in the case of York, some of the records were in duplicate, many had not been copied, and the incendiarism of the rioters deprived the king of large amounts that would in the ordinary course have come to him on the murder of the Jewish creditors.

Richard determined to profit by experience. He established in London and the other chief towns where Jews lived registries of the bonds. Officials were appointed to take charge of these registries. Of the principal ones two were Jews. All acknowledgments of debts were to be in duplicate, one copy to be retained by the Jewish creditor, and the other preserved in the archives. The chests in which these records were to be lodged were to be trebly locked, one key to be entrusted to the Jewish chirographers, a second to their Christian colleagues, and the third to the clerks. A further record was to be kept by the clerks of all payments of debts or alterations in the deeds, and no such alteration was to be made except in the presence of a majority of the officials. The acquittals of the creditors were written in Hebrew with a Latin translation, sometimes in Latin alone or in Norman French alone, occasionally in Latin written in Hebrew characters. They were known by their Hebrew name of *Shetar*, and it has been suggested that the Star Chamber, subsequently so prominent in English history, derived its name from being the depository of these *Shetars*. The regulations adopted at this time were modified later, but in their essentials they remained unaltered until the Expulsion. The Ordinances of 1194 also laid down that a register should be kept of all the property of the Jews, who were also compelled to promise under oath to denounce any of their people guilty of offences against the law. While affording the Jews additional security this arrangement also proved of still greater advantage to the crown. Henceforth, the murder of a Jewish creditor instead of releasing the debtor merely put him directly in the power of the king; while to destroy the record of the debt in the possession of the creditor was but a futile proceeding. Thus the king was secured against loss by the murder of his Jews He was, moreover, placed in a position to become acquainted with their exact resources, and henceforth when in need of money could tax them still more heavily than before, with the certainty of his demands being satisfied.

The debts of the Jews to be recorded in duplicate.

Shetaroth.

From these registries of debts, as well as from the branch of the exchequer that had since 1186 been dealing with the estate of Aaron of Lincoln, grew a new and separate institution, the Exchequer of the Jews. The exact date of its establishment is unknown, but in 1198 are first mentioned the justices of the

The Exchequer of the Jews.

Jews who held the status of barons of the Exchequer. Of these justices there were four, two of the first appointed being Jews, Benedict de Talemunt and Joseph Aaron. There is no record, however, of Jewish successors to these. Jews were also eligible for the minor offices, and these were frequently held by them. The Exchequer of the Jews exercised jurisdiction in cases in which both Jews and Christians were concerned—suits to which both parties were Jews were settled by their own courts—although instances are to be found in which such cases were heard before the ordinary courts. The justices were assisted in their deliberations by the archpresbyter, a high Jewish official appointed by the king. By this legislation the justices of the Jews became in fact the official protectors of Anglo-Jewry, and as such their defenders against the encroachments of the ecclesiastical authorities. The justices were, however, at all times subordinate to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer, but they were none the less men of importance, and included Peter de Rivall, a former treasurer of the Exchequer, chief justices such as Stephen Segrave and Hugh Bigod, royal favourites, and other influential barons. Concerning the duties and privileges of the *Presbyter Judaeorum*, the archpresbyter, but little is known. He was appointed by the king, and for life, and was chosen from among the most prominent Jews in the country. Whether he had any special learned or theological qualifications, as has been suggested, is not known.[1]

The *Presbyter Judaeorum*, or archpresbyter.

Among the most important of the functions of the Exchequer of the Jews was the arrangement of a continual flow of money from the Jews to the royal treasury. Four different channels were available for this flow. The royal revenue derived from the Jews came in the form of reliefs, escheats, fines, and tallages. The first named were succession duties, which amounted, in the case of Jews in the thirteenth century, on an average to a third of the value of the property inherited.

Jewish sources of royal income.

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[1] Hermann Adler in the *Chief Rabbis of England* suggested that this personage was in fact as well as in name *Presbyter omnium Judaeorum Angliae*, and exercised functions analogous to those of a chief rabbi of to-day.

Escheats were estates forfeited in consequence of legal offences committed by their owners. By this means charges of ritual murder, coin-clipping, &c., were rendered profitable to the crown. Fines—the term being used in the widest sense—meant payments on a variety of occasions. They were levied on marriage, and sometimes on refusals to marry; on the recovery of a debt, and on the opening of proceedings for the recovery of a debt. Occasionally the king levied fines on both parties to a suit, and decided in favour of the more lavish of the suitors. The fourth and most remunerative form of taxation was the tallages. These were arbitrary taxes, levied whenever the king was in need of money. The earliest occasions on which the English Jews suffered this form of oppression have been mentioned. They became gradually more frequent and more heavy. It must not be thought, however, that the king always received the whole amount he demanded. The demands were sometimes so exorbitant that it was impossible to comply with them. On other occasions the amount of the tallage was accepted in instalments spread over a number of years. Gross estimated that the average annual income derived from this source during the century preceding the Expulsion was between £5,000 and £10,000. In the money of that day this was a very large sum, and at the lowest estimate equalled a thirteenth of the total revenue of the kingdom. The tallage was sometimes levied as a poll-tax, but more often collectively, the assessment of individuals being arranged by the Jewish community. The assessment was frequently entrusted to specially chosen Jews of prominence, who were personally held responsible for the collection of their respective amounts, and in case of distraint they were required to assist the sheriffs. By Edward I, Christians, often the heads of neighbouring religious houses, were entrusted with the collection, and a few wealthy Jews named as sureties. An ever-ready means of obtaining the last available penny of the tallages was a scrutiny of the records of the debts reposing in the local registries, the seizure of a proportion of them sufficient to satisfy the demands of the Royal Exchequer, and the enforcement of their payment. If the amount of the debt were

The tallages.

Extent of the tallages

Enforcement of payment

insufficient, a further step was to imprison the wife and family of the Jew on whom pressure was to be brought, and even the Jew himself; whereupon his property was sold, and the proceeds poured into the Exchequer. So excessive did these extortions become that the Jews were often reduced to a state of penury, and forced at times, it is said, to beg from door to door. Their sufferings appealed to their neighbours, and, as Matthew Paris says, 'even Christians pitied and wept over their afflictions'. At length, in 1254, through their spokesman, Elias, son of Benedict l'Evesque, or Cohen, they asked to be permitted to leave the country, for they had no more to give in response to the pressure of the tax-gatherers. But the king recognized the value of his Jews, and refused them leave to depart. Thirty-five years earlier Henry had issued orders to the Warden of the Cinque Ports not to permit Jews to leave the country.

The Jews beg for permission to leave the country.

The advantages to the Jews of their Exchequer.

Despite this unconscionable extortion, the Exchequer of the Jews was not an unmixed evil, so far as the Jews themselves were concerned. If, on the one hand, it was merely the instrument of the rapacity of the king, on the other it preserved them from the oppression of others, and secured for the Jews, in suits with fellow-subjects, and even in criminal cases, the justice that would doubtless have often been denied them by the ordinary courts of the land.

By the year 1194 London, Lincoln and Canterbury had become the principal Jewish centres in England. The terrible experiences through which the English Jews had passed during the reign of Richard had not only, by means of murder and flight, reduced the Jewish population, it had also discouraged all increase in their numbers by means of immigration. To the Continental Jew, England was no longer the attractive country it had appeared to his ancestors of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The blood accusations, the popular anti-Jewish risings, and the royal extortions that, at the opening of the thirteenth century, were just commencing, had deprived it of its previous enviable position of a land of refuge. The consequent diminution in Jewish prosperity reacted on the prosperity of the king; and John, immediately on his accession, recognized the necessity for more effectually protecting the Jews, and restoring the confidence that had been destroyed by the events of the previous decade. His first act was intended to flatter the community by the appointment of an archpresbyter, an office apparently first created at that time. Jacob of London, of whom nothing further is known, the first incumbent of the office, was granted by charter absolute freedom of movement and safe conduct throughout the kingdom. He was described as our royal Jew, and removed from all other jurisdiction than that of the king or his chief justice. In his safe conduct John described Jacob as 'our dear friend' (*dilectus et familiaris noster*), and directed that he, his attendants, and his property, should be guarded as if they were the king's.

John creates the office of archpresbyter.

Two years later, in 1201, a remarkable charter of liberties was granted to the Jews of England and Normandy. That of Henry I, which had been confirmed by Richard, had apparently only been granted to certain individuals. The new charter was extended to the whole of the community.[1] All the old privileges—freedom of movement, relief from the ordinary customs, tolls, &c., permission to settle in any part of the kingdom, the grant of redress if molested, permission to hold lands in pledge, to buy whatever was offered, with the two exceptions mentioned in the previous charter; in cases of debt necessity to prove only the capital, to sell their pledges after keeping them the stipulated period, to be tried by their peers, and to be sworn on the Pentateuch—were confirmed. Moreover, the heirs of a deceased Jew were allowed to inherit his property on payment of the accustomed fines. The Jews were exempted from all jurisdiction, excepting that of the king and his local governors. In the charter the king called upon all his loyal subjects to protect the Jews and their rights whenever necessary, and threatened with penalties any who might invade those rights. In cases of dispute between a Christian and a Jew at least two witnesses, one Christian and one Jewish, were required. At the same time, in a supple-

The Charter of the Jews:

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[1] There is, however, a hint in the charter of appointment that this was only the confirmation of an act of John's predecessor.

mentary charter, John authorized the Jews to have all differences among themselves, that did not pertain to the pleas of the crown, settled by their own courts, according to Jewish law. Moreover, he undertook not to compel any Jew to give evidence against another Jew. The price the Jews of England paid for these charters was four thousand marks, payable in four half-yearly instalments. Such exceptional favours had their natural consequences. Confidence was restored in Anglo-Jewry, and the inflow of Jews from the Continent resumed.

John protects the Jews of London.

The favour of the king did not, however, make the Jews more popular, and despite the legal protection given they were by no means exempt from attack. In 1204 the Jews of London had to appeal to the king for protection. John's action was not delayed. He immediately wrote to the mayor and barons of London pointing out that 'he could not but wonder, since they well knew what special protection he had lately granted the Jews, they should so little regard his peace, as to suffer them to be evil entreated; especially when other parts of the Nation gave them no disturbance'. He commanded them to 'take particular care how they were injured for the future . . . if any ill happened to the Jews through their connivance or neglect, they should be answerable for it'.

John's attitude changes.

For ten years, until the Jews felt assured of their permanent protection, John continued to treat them with kindness, but then his attitude towards them began to change. The first signs of this change were the arbitrary confiscation of the property of individual Jews and its presentation to those of his favourites who happened to covet it. It seems that it was only necessary for one of John's favourites to express a desire for some article or estate belonging to a Jew for him to receive it. The following year, 1210, the work of harrying the Jews was resumed on a wholesale scale. The whole of the Jewish population of both sexes was thrown into prison, while the extent of their wealth was investigated with a view to its confiscation. The most barbarous means were used to compel the Jews to disclose the extent of their property. Pleas of

The whole of Anglo-Jewry imprisoned.

poverty were of no avail. Stow [1] says that most suffered the loss of an eye. An especially terrible instance of John's relentless cruelty was that of a Jew of Bristol, whose property it was considered was sufficient to justify the extortion of the vast sum of 10,000 marks of silver. In reply to the remonstrances that the sum exceeded his means, John gave instructions that a tooth a day should be extracted until the amount was forthcoming. The Jew suffered the loss of seven teeth, and then having obtained, either from his own means or with the assistance of friends, the amount necessary to satisfy his torturer, saved the remainder. The whole amount obtained by this wholesale act of oppression was 66,000 marks. Its consequences were such as to cause so large an emigration of Jews, that a general expulsion has been attributed by some historians to this year.

The survivors obtained a respite of four years, at the end of which term, the king being once more in need, pressure was again brought to bear upon the Jews, some of whom were committed to prison until payment was made. A further respite from the oppression of the king was interrupted by an attack by the barons, who were then at war with their ruler. The Jewry of London was sacked, its treasure appropriated, its houses demolished, and their material used for the repair of the walls of the city. From another point of view Anglo-Jewry came into prominence in the same year (1215). The Great Charter wrung from John by his insurgent barons, in addition to taking note of a variety of other matters concerning the common weal, enacted that during the minority of heirs inheriting debts to the Jews, no interest should accrue on those debts; and that if such debts became due to the king only the amounts stated in the deeds should be claimed. In the event of the death of a debtor, his widow should have her dower, on which no part of any of his debts should be charged. In similar circumstances the children, if minors, should receive from the estate reasonable amounts for their support, 'and the

London Jewry sacked by the barons.

Jews and *Magna Charta.*

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[1] He of course wrote some centuries after these events, but as 'the most accurate and business-like of English annalists or chroniclers of the sixteenth century', his evidence is of some value.

Jew's debt shall be paid out of the residue '. These references to Jews were omitted from subsequent confirmations. There were no longer any Jews in the country.

The peace restored by Magna Charta was but short-lived, and war soon broke out again. In the hostilities that ensued, the Scotch were involved. Invading England, the king of Scotland was defeated by John and a number of prisoners taken. These were treated with extreme cruelty, and in this connexion the Jews were used in a new capacity. So frightful were the tortures that John wished inflicted on his prisoners, that his ordinary free subjects refused to take any part in their execution. Denied their services, John had recourse to his Jews, whom he compelled to act as the ministers of his barbarous designs.[1]

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[1] Chron. de Mailross, *ad ann.* 1216.

CHAPTER VII

PROTECTION AND PERSECUTION

(1216–1241)

A welcome change of policy.

THE death of John meant to the Jews of England another turn of the wheel of fortune. The unparalleled cruelties they had suffered under that ruler had impoverished them and reduced their numbers to such an extent that they had sunk into relative insignificance. The regent, William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, to whom the government of the kingdom was entrusted during the first years of the minority of the child Henry III, regarded John's policy towards the Jews during the latter part of his reign as harmful to the welfare of the State. A more liberal treatment of the Jews appeared to him to be more in the interests of the commonwealth, and, relying on the precedents furnished by the earlier acts of John, Pembroke determined once again to encourage a Jewish settlement and to secure to the Jews of England the liberties they had previously enjoyed. His first action was to order the immediate release of all Jews in prison, no matter what charges were preferred against them. The following year, 1217, writs were issued commanding the sheriffs and other royal officers concerned to choose twenty-four burgesses for every town in which Jews dwelt, to watch over them, so that they should receive no injury, and especially to guard them against ill-treatment by crusaders. Moreover, the sheriffs were warned that the Jews were not subject to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, or of any others, excepting those especially appointed by the king. The charter granted by John was confirmed, and those justices of the Jews who had shown themselves unworthy of their office removed. To complete their security, so that no one could plead that he had assaulted a Jew in ignorance of his race, it was ordained in 1218 that every Jew should wear a badge, consisting of two strips of white linen or parchment on a prominent part of his dress.

The badge instituted as a means of protection

This favourable treatment had its natural effect. The Jews again began to forget their past sufferings, or perhaps, with the optimism that has been the chief cause of the survival of the race, to consider that the past was a closed book and a new era had opened for the Jews in England. A temporary dispersal of the clouds, a momentary ray of sunshine, was sufficient to attract the Jews once more, and again the flow set in from the Continent to England. But, although the crown was kindly, the people were otherwise disposed. A new element had arisen in the composite hostility of the English to the Jews within the last decades, and to the other reasons for hatred, which the English people found when their thoughts turned towards the Jews, was added that of commercial jealousy, felt by the class of English merchants which had come into being since the era of the Norman kings. This national antipathy to the Jews was reflected in the action of the wardens of the Cinque Ports, who, seizing many foreign Jews on their arrival in England, threw them into prison. The royal protection, however, still availed, and so soon as the king heard of this treatment, he ordered the release of the imprisoned Jews, and forbade the wardens to interfere with them or any others that might come to the country. Two conditions were placed on Jewish immigration. New-comers had to undertake to enroll their names with the justices of the Jews, and it was stipulated that none should be allowed to leave the country without the royal licence.

The Church and the Jews.

Soon the assistance of the crown was again needed, and against a new and more formidable adversary. The attitude of the Church towards the Jews had gradually, and for a variety of reasons, become more hostile. The crown, at the opening of the new reign, had given several definite and tangible signs of its sympathy with the Jews. But the crown was not the only power in the land, and that other well-armed body, the

Church, whose interests sometimes clashed with those of the kingdom, had no sympathy with the new policy. In the struggle that was then in course between the civil and religious forces, neither had as yet gained an incontestable supremacy over the other. The friendly legislation of Henry III was answered by a synod at Oxford in 1222, when, at the instance of Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, it was decreed: 'That Jews do not keep Christian slaves. And let the slaves be compelled by ecclesiastical censure to observe this; and the Jews by canonical punishment, or by some extraordinary penalty contrived by the Diocesans. Let them not be permitted to build any more synagogues, but be looked upon as debtors to the churches of the parishes wherein they reside, as to tithes and offerings. To prevent likewise the mixture of Jewish men and women with Christians of each sex, we charge, by authority of the General Council, that the Jews of both sexes wear a linen cloth, two inches broad and four fingers long, of a different colour from their own clothes, on their upper garment, before their breast; and that they be compelled to this by ecclesiastical censure. And let them not presume to enter into any church, nor for that end lodge their goods there. If they do let them be corrected by the Bishop.' In addition to promulgating this decree, the Archbishop, together with the Bishops of Lincoln and of Norwich, published an injunction prohibiting all Christians within their dioceses from having any intercourse whatsoever with Jews, whom they practically placed under an interdict.[1] The crown, however, was little likely to overlook any such invasion of its authority, and the publication of the injunctions was immediately followed by a royal precept dissolving them, and directing the officers concerned to command all men to sell the Jews food and other necessaries under the pain of imprisonment, 'any spiritual inhibition notwithstanding'.

Stephen Langton.

The badge as a means of isolation.

The hostile feeling that pervaded the ranks of the higher clerics was, however, not universal in the English church, for about the very date of these ordinances the Prior of Dunstable gave permission to the Jews to reside within his lordship and to enjoy all the privileges of it in consideration of the annual payment of two silver spoons, each of which was to weigh twelve pennyweight.

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[1] This outburst of ecclesiastical anti-Jewish feeling may possibly be traced to the then recent scandal caused by the adoption of Judaism by a deacon, for love of a Jewess, and the expiation of his offence at the stake.

The Prior of Dunstable.

To the same period before the ordinances of Langton also belongs the interference of the papal legate Pandulf, Bishop of Norwich, with the affairs of the Jews. In a peremptory letter to Peter des Roches and Hubert de Burgh, the guardians of the realm, he complained that the well-founded complaints of the Christians against the Jews were becoming unbearable, and that the extortion, oppression, and usury of the perfidious people, notwithstanding the decree of the Lateran Council, had reduced the people to a condition of exhaustion. Especially had his dear sons, the abbot and monks of Westminster, been harried by one Isaac of Norwich, on account of money they had borrowed from him, and he demanded that all proceedings in the case should be stayed until he himself was at liberty to attend the court, and consult how the evil practices of which he complained could be prevented, and the objectionable element removed from the kingdom.

Isaac of Norwich.

This Isaac of Norwich (died *c.* 1247) was one of the richest Englishmen of the day. In addition to his purely financial transactions, he was also a great merchant, and even owned a quay at Norwich for the convenience of his vessels. Isaac was one of the Jews who suffered imprisonment by John in 1210, and about the same time his house in London was seized by the king, and afterwards presented to the Earl of Derby.

Renewal of persecution.

So long as Hubert de Burgh, the Earl of Pembroke's successor, remained in power, the lot of the Jews remained on the whole bearable, but with the fall of that minister and the beginning of the reign of worthless court favourites, the era of persecution recommenced. A tallage of 4,000 marks was levied on the Jews in 1226, and followed by another of 6,000, payment of which was delayed until 1230. Between 1232, the year of the beginning of the ascendancy of Peter des Roches, and 1234, two tallages, amounting to a total of 18,000 marks, were enforced. Not all of this sum, however, went into the coffers of the king, nor did this represent the total of the extortions the Jews suffered during this period. To the other troubles to which the Jews were subject was added that of corrupt and oppressive officials, and before the officers of the Jewish Exchequer were dismissed in 1234 they had managed to enrich themselves at the expense of those whom it was their duty to protect. The year 1232 was also the occasion of a new form of oppression. Although the Jews of England had hitherto suffered a variety of torments, it appears that until this year the due observance of their religion had met with no interference. The favourable circumstances, in which the Jews found themselves in the earlier years of Henry's reign, had encouraged them to erect a magnificent and stately house of worship, to take the place of or to supplement those already in existence in London. Its erection had continued without interruption, and on its completion the general population, envious of its magnificence, petitioned the king for its confiscation. The prayer was granted, and the edifice, together with its surrounding buildings, was consecrated to the Virgin, and given to the Brethren of St. Anthony of Vienna, whence it was known as St. Anthony's Hospital. The history of Anglo-Jewry from this date becomes a long catalogue of varying forms of oppression.

A synagogue confiscated.

The towns and the Jews.

Of all the elements in the population whose policy ran contrary to the interests of the Jews, the towns were perhaps the most important. The burgesses had, by efforts spread over a long period and generally by considerable payments, gradually acquired a certain amount of self-government and of freedom from the interference of the crown. The introduction into their midst of the Jews, an element outside their local laws, and directly under the control of the king and his officers, immediately diminished the value of their dearly won privileges, and threatened the townsfolk with a return to the condition from which they had freed themselves. Although the king's officers had in the ordinary course no jurisdiction within the limits of the borough, they were free to enter it whenever invited by the Jews to assist in the collection of their debts.

When the debts fell into the king's hands, his officers as a matter of course penetrated into the towns for their collection. When the Jews were in need of protection against the violence of the townsfolk, it was in the Royal Castle that they took refuge, or the king's sheriff with his following who came to their defence. Moreover, on many occasions the king bluntly intimated to the burgesses that they would be held personally responsible for any harm that might befall the Jews settled in their midst. These precautions were increasingly found necessary, for attacks on the Jews became more and more frequent as the thirteenth century progressed.

The rights of residence curtailed.

The towns, however, found another method than that of brute force of relieving themselves of what they considered the undesirable burden of the Jews. In the same manner as they had obtained their charters, they found they could exclude the Jews from their midst. In the desire for the restriction of the Jewish rights of residence the king found a still further source of income, and the Jewish problem was solved, so far as many of the English towns were concerned, by removal of Jews from within their boundaries. As has already been mentioned, on the morrow of the murderous outbreak at Bury St. Edmunds in 1190, the Jews were excluded from that town. Forty-one years later Simon de Montfort made a similar grant to the burgesses of Leicester. This grant was, however, not fully effective at the time. De Montfort's aunt, Margaret de Quincy, was far more liberal in disposition than her famous nephew. Pained by the miseries of the Jews she developed a scheme for settling the exiles from Leicester on her lands. These proposals she submitted to Robert Grossteste, Archdeacon of Leicester, afterwards the great Bishop of Lincoln. Grossteste in his reply laid down two general principles. The one was that the Jews were entitled to protection against all injury. To them the Law and the Prophets had been given. They were a living testimony to the truth of Christianity which would ultimately be embraced by them. On the other hand, inasmuch as the Jews must be made to suffer, the disabilities under which they lived must not be diminished. Above all, they should not be encouraged in usurious practices, and their royal and other Christian protectors must not share their ill-gotten gains. As a consequence of these opinions de Montfort's edict was suspended, to be put into effect, however, immediately after the death of Grossteste in 1253. These precedents were followed at Newcastle in 1234; Wycombe, 1235; Southampton, 1236; Berkhampstead, 1242; Newbury, 1244, and Derby in 1263. In 1275 the Jews were expelled from all the towns Queen Eleanor held in dower. Those of Marlborough were deported to Devizes, those of Gloucester to Bristol, those of Worcester to Hereford, and those of Cambridge to Huntingdon. By then organized restriction had become the general policy of the State. In 1245, and again in 1253, a decree was issued limiting the Jews, except in the case of special personal licences, to the towns in which they were then settled. By this general measure the further expansion of Anglo-Jewry was made impossible, and, by the various local measures already enumerated, the existing limits were being continually narrowed. During the last two generations of their settlement in the country, the area of Jewish settlement was gradually still further restricted. The removal of the corrupt officials in 1234 gave the Jews no respite from overwhelming taxation. Two years later a tax of 18,000 marks were levied. In 1237 there was again a tallage. In 1239 the Jews were forced to surrender a third of their property. In 1241 20,000 marks were raised under threat of expulsion. Three years later the Jews had to produce a similar amount, and in the following year the stupendous tax of 60,000 marks was levied. In 1246 the contribution was 10,000 marks; in 1247, 5,525 marks, and in 1249 again 10,000. In 1250 a great part of the property of the Jews was seized. In 1251 they paid 5,000 marks of silver and forty of gold. The following year 3,500 marks were levied on them. In July 1253 the Jews gave the king 5,000 marks in order that they might be exempt from further tallage until the following Easter. In 1259 they paid 5,000 marks. In 1269 they agreed to pay £1,000 a year for the three following years. The moment that term had expired they were forced to raise the sum of 6,000 marks. Of

Unceasing exactions.

all these tallages there are existing records. It is probable that there were still others whose records have been lost.

The Odard affair at Norwich.

At the same time there was running a new series of alleged ritual offences. In 1230, so it was stated, the Jews of Norwich abducted a child of five, Odard, the son of Benedict the physician, apparently a converted Jew,[1] and circumcised him. The boy escaped, and finally reached his friends, from whom the Jews demanded him on the ground that he was one of them. The Christians, however, refused to surrender the child, and the Jews had to rest content with warning the woman in whose care Odard was placed not to give him pig's flesh as he was a Jew, and in reporting to the Constable of Norwich, the royal officer, that the Christians had taken away *their* Jew. Nothing further is known to have happened for four years, and then Benedict, the father of the boy, probably urged by the clergy, preferred an indictment against thirteen of the leading Jews of Norwich for the alleged assault. Of the thirteen, ten answered the summons and were thrown into prison. The case was heard before the local justices, twelve of the accused being found guilty and further action referred to the king. Meanwhile the Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk was enjoined to proclaim that no Christian woman was permitted to enter the service of a Jew. The prisoners were sent to London, and tried again before the king, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and many of the bishops and barons of England. It was then decided that as such an offence was without precedent, and was a matter that primarily concerned the Church, the case should be referred to the ecclesiastical authorities.

The case transferred to London.

This decision rendered the plight of the incriminated Jews still worse. In the ordinary civil courts their chance of obtaining justice was slight. Before an ecclesiastical tribunal, with the Church itself as their accuser, the verdict was a foregone conclusion. In this extremity their only course was to delay the hearing, and to try to induce the king to refer the matter to the court provided under the charter of the Jews. By a succession of money presents this was effected. For four years again the case slumbered, and then the king, despite his previous decision, and his acceptance of a further bribe, directed the local justices to try the accused in their own way. The exact date and result of the trial are unknown, but in 1241 some at least of the prisoners were hanged, after having been dragged to the gallows at the tails of horses, and one, having fled the country, was outlawed.[1] In the midst of the Odard affair at Norwich, the Jews of Winchester suffered on account of an alleged ritual murder in that city in 1232.

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[1] So Mr. Rye suggests with the support of probability.

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[1] The list of Jews concerned, some of whom were condemned and others fled, are given under No. 149 in Myer Davis' manuscript list of *Shetaroth*.

CHAPTER VIII

TALLAGES, SPOLIATION AND IMPRISONMENT

(1238–1251)

A REQUEST made by the Jews in 1238 is worthy of more than passing note in connexion with subsequent charges of forgery, coin-clipping, &c., brought against the whole race. At their own request the king accepted from them a hundred pounds so that inquiry might be made, and evidence obtained from Jews and Christians with a view to the perpetual banishment from the kingdom of all Jews found guilty of clipping, robbery, or harbouring those guilty of such offences. In 1241 the oppression of the Jews took a new turn.

The Parliament of the Jews.

The so-called Parliament of the Jews was convened by the king at Worcester. Writs were issued to the sheriffs of the counties directing them to arrange for the election of representatives of all the Jewish communities within their respective provinces. The larger communities were to send six of their worthiest members; the smaller centres were to be represented by two. These representatives, who numbered more than a hundred, were called together 'to treat with him (the king), as well concerning his own as their advantage'. The summons must have come as a great surprise to the Jews of England worn by persecution and exhausted by oppression. The form of writ suggested that the Government had at length repented, and was anxious to alleviate the deplorable condition of its Jewish subjects. With hearts beating high with hope, for their existing condition could hardly have been rendered worse—expatriation, more than once ardently demanded, was recognized as preferable to the continuance of the existing condition—the elected representatives of the Jews of England repaired to Worcester on the day appointed for their gathering to consult concerning their own benefit as well as the king's. The glimmer of hope was, however, at once extinguished. Immediately on their assembly the representatives of the Jews were told they had been called together to learn that they were required to raise 20,000 marks, and that the king would hold those present responsible for that sum in their persons and their properties. The Parliament of the Jews was in fact only called together to consult as to the best method of taxing their constituents for the benefit of the king. Despite their efforts the appointed collectors were unable to obtain the whole of the amount required in time, and the king, in accordance with his word, had the collectors, their wives, children, and property seized in satisfaction of his demands. Two years later, by means of a charge of forgery brought against the ex-Archpresbyter, Aaron of York, the king was enabled to force 32,000 marks from that unfortunate person.

Assembly at Worcester.

Aaron was 'defrauded', as Matthew Paris puts it, in 1243. The following year the discovery of an alleged case of ritual murder in London gave the king a new excuse, if one were needed, for extortion. The body of a child was exhumed, and found to bear strange marks. The suggestion being made that the marks amounted to an inscription in Hebrew, certain converted Jews were sent for, and under threats and penalties ordered to decipher them. Despite these outside influences a solution was reached with great difficulty. The decipherers, with the assistance of others, admitted that most of the signs were unintelligible. With persuasion, however, they managed to discover the names of the child's parents and a statement to the effect that he had been sold to the Jews. At an age at which the laws of evidence were little considered, and in the creation of martyrs and miracles the end invariably justified the means, martyrs and saints were plentiful. It is doubtful, however, whether any martyrdom was based on more slender foundation than those of this child. His sanctity being proved by the marks on his body, that body was thereupon claimed

An alleged ritual murder in London.

by the canons of the cathedral, who buried it near the high altar. This was the excuse for a tallage of 60,000 marks.

The difficulties that the baronage, especially the lesser barons, attributed to the activity of the Jews were obvious. It was in that class that the bulk of the debtors of the Jews were to be found, and although it was often through their instrumentality alone that the barons were enabled to perform their duties to their overlords, grievances remain in the memory long after benefits are forgotten. The barons were not allowed to forget their indebtedness to the Jews, and so long as that condition subsisted they did not fail to harbour feelings of animosity. The transfer of their debts to the crown tended to make this hostility all the more intense. For every act of harshness on the part of the royal creditor, the Jew was made the scapegoat. The collection of every debt was a further item in the score that was gradually lengthening as it awaited the day of reckoning. The practice that had grown up of transferring the security (often the lands) for the loans of the minor barons to their overlords, from whom afterwards the debtors had great difficulty in recovering their pledges, reacted in a still deeper feeling of hostility to the Jews. Whenever opportunities occurred, and the Civil War of the thirteenth century furnished several, the barons vented their long-stored feelings of vengeance on the Jews. Throughout the reign of Henry III, Jewry after Jewry was sacked and its inhabitants slain. Sheer love of murder and destruction was, however, not the sole motive. Care was taken to appropriate all the property easily movable, and, when occasion offered, the registries of Jewish debts were sacked and the records of the indebtedness of the barons destroyed. 'It is impossible', says a chronicler, in describing one of these attacks, 'to estimate the loss it caused to the king's exchequer.'

The oppression of the barons.

Economic causes.

On the part of the minor barons, the anti-Jewish feeling was almost entirely due to economic causes. On the great nobles of the country, men of great wealth, these had little if any effect. Yet, by the middle of the thirteenth century, there was practical agreement on the subject throughout all ranks of the nobility. The great struggle between the baronage and the crown had by then commenced, and it was speedily recognized that among the weapons of the king the Jew was by no means the least useful. The easiest method for the barons to adopt, to bring pressure to bear upon the king, was to withhold supplies from him; but so long as revenue could be wrung from the wretched Jews, this method of bringing pressure to bear proved insufficient. That the king understood well how valuable a weapon the Jews were in the struggle in which he was engaged, is shown by the continual oppressive exactions to which the Jews were subject throughout the second decade of the thirteenth century. Between 1230 and 1255, on seven different occasions, the king pounced upon his Jews. At first he was content with but a third of their property. But *l'appétit vient en mangeant*, and after the third tallage the royal officers were instructed to wring the last possible penny from their unfortunate victims. The king was not alone in learning the value of the Jews in the struggle. The barons plainly saw that, to succeed in their object, they must control or abolish the source of revenue the crown enjoyed in the Jews, and thus it was that by 1244 they had exacted from the king the right to appoint one of the justices of the Jews, so as to get acquainted with the extent of the Jewish resources, and to obtain some voice in their disposal.

Threats of banishment to Ireland.

The tax of 1245 was levied under the threat that defaulters would be banished to Ireland, a punishment one of the most severe that could be imposed on any subject of the king. To safeguard at least their wives and children from the possibility of such a terrible fate, many of the Jews secretly removed their dependants and hid them. This action was immediately followed by a royal proclamation to the effect that the removal, within a year, of any wife or child of a Jew from her or his accustomed abode, would be the signal for the outlawry of the whole family, and the seizure of the whole of their property for the king's use. Thus were all means of escape from the king's ruthless barbarity closed. At the same time individual Jews were compelled to contribute towards the internal decoration of Westminster Abbey, then in the process of rebuilding.

Under the year 1250 a remarkable story is told of one Abra-

Abraham of Berkhampstead.

ham of Berkhampstead, who, obtaining an image of the Virgin, insulted it, and forced his wife Flora to do likewise. The latter, however, after a time repented, and, although she was 'a very beautiful wife and faithful to him', he did not hesitate to kill her on account of her disobedience. The story got abroad. Abraham was arrested and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. At the intercession of Earl Richard of Cornwall, to whom Abraham was 'very dear', the convict was released from prison on payment of seven hundred marks. While, however, Abraham was still in prison, it appears he was denounced by his co-religionists as guilty of other offences, especially of coin-clipping. Earl Richard, however, would not withdraw his protection, under which Abraham was safe; and the latter in defending himself from the new charge, not only denied it, but expressed his ability to prove all the Jews of England to be 'most wicked traitors'. Abraham was released from prison, and shortly afterwards, perhaps in consequence of his disclosures or inventions, a very strict inquisition was made into all the properties of the Jews of England. In this inquisition an unpleasant notoriety was obtained by a renegade Jew, who rendered the inquisition still harsher than it need have been by threatening the persons who made the inventories, that he would complain of them to the king for being too mild and partial; assuring them, that if never so strict an estimate were made of their riches, it would fall short of truth—so many arts, he said, they had to disguise and conceal them. His vindictiveness was so intense that many Christians, we are told, lamented and grieved at the affliction of the Jews.

Harried and oppressed, tortured, tormented, fined, plundered, mutilated, massacred, struck not only in their own persons, but also in those of their loved ones, the limit of endurance was at length reached with this people, whom history has hardened on the anvil of persecution and in the fire of relentless and apparently endless oppression. Broken in spirit by the tyrants of centuries, at length in England they boldly faced their persecutors. The king, once again failing to raise money by legitimate means, turned to the Jews to wring from them their last pence. This projected levy he entrusted to his brother, Earl Richard. To him came a deputation of the oppressed, with the Archpresbyter Elias at their head. The Earl was told: 'O noble Lords, we see undoubtedly that our Lord the King purposeth to destroy us from under heaven. We entreat, for God's sake, that he would give us license and safe conduct of departing out of his Kingdom, that we may seek and find a mansion in some other place, under some Prince who bears some bowels of mercy, and some stability of truth and faithfulness. And we will depart; never to return again, leaving here our household stuff, and houses behind us. How can he love or spare us, miserable Jews, who destroys his own natural English? He hath people, yea his own merchants, I say not usurers, who by usurious contracts, heap up infinite heaps of money. Let the King rely upon them, and gape after their emoluments. Verily they have supplanted and impoverished us. Which the King howsoever dissembles to know, exacting from us those things we cannot give him, although he would pull out our eyes, or cut our throats, when he had first pulled off our skins.'[1]

The appeal of Archpresbyter Elias.

Earl Richard who, compared with other statesmen of the day, was well disposed towards the Jews, pointed out in reply that their request to be allowed to depart could not be granted, inasmuch as the king of France had but recently issued an edict against his Jews, and no other Christian State would receive them. For the present the king would accept as much money as they could produce. The following year a similar demand for money was made, and again leave to depart was craved. All, however, the Jews could get in reply was an impassioned declaration by the king of his financial necessities; and since it seemed impossible for him to wring anything more from his wretched Jews, he sold them for 5,000 marks for a term of years to his brother Richard, to whom absolute control over them was assigned, and who was authorized to obtain from them 16,000 marks in settlement of their debt to the king. Under Richard the Jews found some temporary respite, for he recognized the poverty to which they

The Jews sold to Earl Richard.

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[1] Prynne's Translation of Matthew Paris.

had been reduced by the grinding exactions of his royal brother.

Elias le Evesque.

The Archpresbyter Elias le Evesque or Cohen, who so worthily represented his people before the Earl of Cornwall, was the fourth holder of that office, succeeding Aaron of York in 1243. He belonged to a family several members of which held public office, and was one of the wealthy Jews of the kingdom. He had previously been one of Jewish chirographers of London, and in 1241 had represented the capital city in the Parliament of the Jews of Worcester. For a short time he held both offices, but in the year 1245 he with his fellow-Jewish and Christian chirographers was removed from office on account of irregularities in the performance of their duties. He, however, retained the office of Archpresbyter until 1257 when he was deposed. Two years later, borne down by his anxieties, he adopted Christianity and made serious charges against his former co-religionists. Nevertheless the whole of his property was confiscated. Little more is heard of him except that at the time of the Expulsion in 1290 an Elias le Evesque, who may have been the same person, was living in obscurity in London. Elias was succeeded as Archpresbyter by Hagin, son of Magister or Rabbi Mosse, who, together with his brother Cresse, had been instrumental in securing the deposition of Elias. Hagin also came to an unhappy end. He was charged with using his office for the benefit of his family, and apparently fled overseas. However, two years later, in 1275, he was in prison at Windsor. Other misfortunes and imprisonments followed, and he was apparently in prison when he died in 1280.

The Archpresbyter Hagin.

Elias le Evesque has often been confounded with Magister Elias, son of Magister Mosse, a brother of his successor Hagin, to whom much of Elias le Evesque's property was assigned on his adoption of Christianity. This Master or Magister Mosse was a prominent rabbi and doctor of medicine, and came of a distinguished Anglo-Jewish family.

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CHAPTER IX

LITTLE ST. HUGH OF LINCOLN

(1253–1268)

THE Royal Ordinance of 1253, by refusing to the Jews all rights of geographical expansion, and by limiting their freedom of movement, created what was in effect a Pale of Settlement. The ordinance opened with a threat that no Jew should remain in the country without doing the king some service. The synagogue accommodation under King John was laid down as the furthest limit to which such accommodation should be allowed to extend, and the Jews were forbidden to erect any new houses of worship except in place of those standing at the time of John. In the synagogues, service was to be conducted in low tones, so that there should be no annoyance to Christian neighbours or passers-by. No Christians were to attend these services. Every Jew was made answerable to the rector of his parish for all parochial dues chargeable on his house. Christians were forbidden to serve Jews in any capacity, to eat or stay with them. Jews were prohibited from eating or buying meat during Lent, and from discussing Christian observances. A Jew should not enter a church or chapel except quickly to pass through. Nor should any Jew deter another anxious to embrace Christianity. The penalty in any of these events was forfeiture of property. This legislation was practically an adoption of the anti-Jewish decrees of the Synod of Oxford, ignored at the time by the civil power, then more sympathetically disposed towards the Jews.

The synagogue services.

Little St. Hugh.

In 1255 the Blood Accusation underwent a revival, which, in its consequences to Jewry, proved the most terrible of all the ordeals of that nature through which Anglo-Jewry passed.

The popular story of the martyrdom of Little St. Hugh of Lincoln touched the people's minds so closely that it entered deeply into the folk-songs of the nation. The ballads of the English and Scotch sing often of the child-martyr, whose story was also reproduced in Norman-French song. One of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales,* moreover, deals with the episode. The story, as told by Matthew Paris,[1] is as follows: 'The Jews of Lincoln stole a boy of eight years of age, whose name was Hugh; and having shut him up in a room quite out of the way, where they fed him on milk and other childish nourishment, they sent to almost all the cities of England where the Jews lived, and summoned some of their sect from each city to be present at a sacrifice to take place at Lincoln, for they had, as they stated, a boy hidden for the purpose of being crucified. In accordance with the summons, a great many of them came to Lincoln, and on assembling, they at once appointed a Jew of Lincoln as judge, to take the place of Pilate, by whose sentence, and with the concurrence of all, the boy was subjected to divers tortures.' These included crucifixion, crowning with thorns, marking with the stigmata, and piercing in the side. Moreover, the child 'was overwhelmed with reproaches and blasphemies, and was repeatedly called Jesus the false prophet by his tormentors, who surrounded him, grinding and gnashing their teeth'. Meanwhile the mother, who had been seeking her son, learnt that he had last been seen playing with Jewish children, and, searching diligently, at length found his body at the bottom of a well in the house of a Jew. The bailiff of the city, being informed, had the body drawn out; and John of Lexington, who happened to be present, 'a man of learning, prudent and discreet', at the time Chief Justice of the Forest, and a brother of the Bishop of Lincoln, turning to the people, said: 'We have already learned that the Jews have not hesitated to attempt such proceedings as a reproach and taunt to our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified.' He ordered the Jew, in whose house the child had been playing, to be seized, and after threatening him with mutilation and death, from which 'not all the gold of England will avail to ransom you

John of Lexington.

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[1] J. A. Giles' Translation (1854).

and save you from your fate', promised to preserve his life and limbs if he would disclose all he knew about the affair. Terrified by these threats, the Jew, Copin, confessed that the charge of the ritual murder of Hugh was true, and that 'almost every year the Jews crucify a boy as an insult to the name of Jesus'. Not only was Hugh crucified for such a purpose, but when his murderers attempted to bury the mutilated body, 'the earth vomited it forth, and the corpse appeared unburied above ground'. Such a confession naturally placed the seal of martyrdom upon the child, and the body was taken possession of by the canons of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, and after lying in state, 'it was honourably buried in the Church of Lincoln, as if it had been the corpse of a precious martyr'.

As this is the most important of the Blood Accusations in England, the evidence in support of it may be noticed in some detail. First it should be noted that all other possible theories, such as accident—the child, while playing, might have fallen down the well—are ignored. John of Lexington immediately jumps to the conclusion, to which he is followed by the others, that the child was murdered by the Jews, and in order to obtain support for this theory promises the unhappy Jew he has caught, after terrifying him with threats, absolute immunity if he will make the statement Lexington desires. Copin does so, but even Matthew Paris, a contemporary chronicler, not otherwise too sympathetically inclined towards Jews, terms his statements ravings. Setting aside the miraculous embroideries of the story and the absolute incompatibility of the offence alleged, or of anything like it with the teachings or practices or spirit of Judaism, it should be noticed that the death of the boy occurred in August, at least four months later than the Passover, with which Jewish festival the Blood Accusation is as a rule, and in this case also, connected. That the child could have been concealed in a small city, while the Jews were being collected from all over the country, and not discovered by his anxious mother, who, it is said, had reason from the beginning to suspect the Jews, is equally incredible. Moreover, the occasion of a wedding in the house of an important member of the Lincoln Jewish community [1] was sufficient explanation for the gathering of the Jews in that city.

The king investigates the charge.

Meanwhile the king, on his return from Scotland, stopped at Lincoln to investigate the matter. He had just mortgaged the Jews to his brother, and for purposes of ordinary taxation they were out of his control. Jews found guilty of offences against the law were, however, still at his mercy, and to involve a number of prominent Jews in a crime would, he must have seen, have been an easy manner of replenishing his treasury. His first action was severely to reprimand Lexington for having in any circumstances promised Copin pardon, and that wretched creature was forthwith tied to a horse's tail, dragged to the gallows, and executed. Ninety-one of the other prominent Jews of Lincoln were taken from their homes and imprisoned in London. Eighteen of them, claiming their rights to trial before a mixed jury, were summarily condemned for their presumption and hanged. The remainder were confined in the Tower. Two of these were pardoned, but the others were tried before twenty-four knights and the same number of burgesses from Lincoln, and, as was to have been expected from the known prejudice from which the members of this jury suffered, convicted and sentenced to death.

The friars intervene on behalf of the Jews.

If the doubts already cast on the guilt of the Jews had not yet sufficed, the next episode in the history should assure to the victims of this act of judicial and religious persecution tardy justice. Before the execution could be carried out—according to one authority the Franciscans, according to another the Dominicans—appealed to the king for the pardon of the implicated Jews. The noble-hearted appeal failed, but the requests of the king's brother, the Earl of Cornwall, were granted and the condemned Jews released. Despite this royal pardon, the animosity of the townspeople was so fiercely aroused against the Jews that a few years later the king was compelled to grant them special protection.

Meanwhile the government of the kingdom was gradually becoming more chaotic, and its condition more disturbed.

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[1] Berechiah de Nicole (Benedict fil Mosse). The identity of Benedict's daughter with the bride is conjectural.

The disputes between the king and his barons often led to the existence of two governing bodies side by side, and in such circumstances, when each was fully occupied in neutralizing the efforts of the other, the Church, always over-zealous to increase its influence and jealous of its assumed rights, had free play. Thus in 1257 the prelates, assembled in Provincial Synod, complained that when any Jew was prosecuted in their courts for an offence of a spiritual nature, he was immediately removed by the king's courts from their jurisdiction, and that by their so-called proper judges the Jews were invariably acquitted whenever they could get a Christian and a Jew to affirm their innocence. It was consequently decided by the prelates that all such accused Jews should be compelled to appear before the ecclesiastical courts by 'being forbidden to traffic, contract, or converse with the faithful'. And so that these injunctions should be observed, all objectors should be coerced by excommunication and interdict.

Sacrilege at Oxford.

Unfortunately an occurrence at Oxford, at this time, materially assisted the Church in its anti-Jewish policy. The Jewry of this town had been far less subject to disturbance than other large Jewish communities in the country. London, York, Lincoln, Norwich, and others, had all suffered pillage or the blood accusation. In many of them devastation had visited the Jews not once but twice, and even more often. Compared with these centres the lot of Oxford had been a happy one, and the troubles of the Jews of that city of little concern. On the occasion of a religious procession in 1268, a certain local Jew broke the ranks, seized a crucifix that was being carried and trod it under foot. Despite the heinousness of the offence, which elsewhere in England would have probably involved wholesale confiscation and imprisonment if not execution, the punishment directed by the king was remarkably moderate. The Jews were ordered to present the university with a portable silver cross, and to erect an expensive and valuable cross of marble on the spot on which the outrage was committed. It was subsequently decided that this cross should be placed outside the synagogue, but the king and council, out of consideration apparently for Jewish susceptibilities, decided that the place was inconvenient, and the cross was ultimately erected close to Merton College. The last incident in the history of the Jews of Oxford before the Expulsion was the grant, in 1286, as a favour to the scholars of the university, of jurisdiction by the chancellor in disputes between scholars and Jews.

The Jews assigned to Prince Edward and by him to the Cahorsins.

Under the protection of the Earl of Cornwall, the Jews of England had an opportunity for rest and recovery. On the conclusion of his lease, however, the breathing time passed away, and once more Anglo-Jewry became the plaything of the opposing elements that were contesting for supremacy on the stage of England. The period of political contest was drawing to a close, and that of armed conflict about to open. On the eve of the hostilities between the king and the barons, the Jews of England were assigned to Prince Edward, who on his part handed them over to their rivals, the Cahorsins. These were Italian merchants, in the service of the Pope, who first appeared in England about the year 1235. Technically money-changers, they were in reality usurers, who had been denounced by Bishop Grosseteste as more heartless and oppressive than the Jews. As, however, usury was forbidden to Christians, the Cahorsins had to salve their consciences, and satisfy their superiors by a fiction. They did not lend money on interest. To a borrower who required a hundred pounds for six months, the Cahorsins were willing to lend the amount free of interest for three. For the three following months interest at the rate of 50 per cent. per mensem was charged. Thus it was contended that the transaction could not be considered usurious, for the interest depended upon a contingency that might never occur. It was against the pressure of the Cahorsins, that was gradually taking away from the Jews the means of responding to the exorbitant demands of the king, that the Archpresbyter Elias complained, in his pathetic appeal to the hard-hearted ruler, to let his people depart. In 1252 Henry determined to prosecute the Cahorsins, whose competition with his own Jews was certainly distasteful to him, with all the rigour of the law against usurers, but his hand was stayed by the plea that they were the servants of

The Cahorsins.

the Pope. The mission of the Cahorsins to England at the instigation of the Pope was probably a deliberate futherance of the policy of the Church during the last two generations of Pre-Expulsion Anglo-Jewry for purging England of her Jews. For the Jew the most painful stage in the competition between them and the Cahorsins was reached when the former were given as pledges into the hands of their rivals. The only mitigating circumstance was that the king resumed control of the Jews before the expiration of the lease.

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CHAPTER X

THE LAST PHASE

(1262–1279)

THE opening of the Civil War was the signal for the plunder of the Jews. Even before the first blow was struck by either of the combatants, those of London felt the first gusts of the coming storm. The king having broken with the barons took refuge in the Tower, and the other party, with their army, occupied the City (1262). A dispute between a Jew and a Christian inhabitant served as a spark to kindle the material to hand. The London authorities endeavoured to protect the Jews and they and the records of their debts were received into the Tower. Nevertheless London Jewry was sacked, and seven hundred of its inhabitants slain. The Jews were accused of intending to betray the City to the Royalists, and it was even said that they had prepared Greek fire to assist in their design. Similar excesses followed at Worcester (1263), London again, Northampton and Canterbury (1264), and Lincoln and the Isle of Ely (1266). The success of the barons enabled their leader, Simon de Montfort, who was at least morally to blame for these excesses, to take more effective measures than the haphazard destruction of archives, for the relief of his followers from their indebtedness to the Jews. By proclamation all the remaining bonds of indebtedness were annulled, and thus at a stroke a large proportion of the property of the Jews was transferred to their former debtors. De Montfort's success was short-lived, but his downfall brought but temporary relief. Peace repaired to some extent the inroads on the fortunes of the Jews, and many had again acquired some wealth. Dazzled by the rapid change from the oppres-

London Jewry sacked by the barons. Excesses in the provinces.

sion and cruelties of the baronial party, the Jews even aspired to attain to some degree of civil emancipation. A few slight favours had been conferred on individual Jews by the king when freed from the pressure of De Montfort, and some among them had obtained possession of the estates of deceased or outlawed barons. An estate held by a Jew was, however, shorn of many of its most desired attributes. Under the existing law no Jew could, for instance, exercise the rights of wardship, escheat, or advowson. The Jews, blinded by an apparent sense of security, claimed these feudal rights. As was to be expected, such an application united all the anti-Jewish elements, lay and clerical, against them, and instead of the request being granted, the Jews were disqualified by Parliament in 1269 and 1271 altogether from holding landed property, either in pledge or by purchase. Moreover, their commercial rights were very seriously curtailed, and the result of the measures was to reduce the Jews to almost as unfavourable a situation as under De Montfort's ordinance. Immediately afterwards came a tallage of 6,000 marks to enable Prince Edward to take the cross. The Jews were by this time so much impoverished that they were unable to raise the amount, and they were in consequence again mortgaged to the Earl of Cornwall. With the confiscation of the chief synagogue in London because the service disturbed the neighbouring friars, the annals of the Jews of England in the reign of Henry III close.

The Jews 'disqualified from holding lands in pledge.

During Henry's long reign the Jews of England had suffered almost every possible vicissitude, and the rapid changes in their fortunes seem at times almost to have turned their heads. Under his son and successor, Edward, the sun no longer broke through the ever-thickening clouds. The condition of Jewry at the opening of Edward's reign was one of deep affliction. So sore was the misery of the Jews that we are told: 'Nothing but weeping and wailing was to be seen in every corner. Even the Friars who had so lately taken possession of their Synagogue, as it is said, pitied them: Nor were the Cahorsini brokers (though their rivals in extortion) without compassion. For nothing could be more rigorous and unmerciful than the

King's proceedings at this time.' During the eighteen years in which the Jews remained in England under Edward I their condition became yearly more and more pitiable, so that the final act of oppression, accompanied, as it was, by individual acts of human cruelty, must have come almost as a relief.

Edward, who had inspired the ordinances of 1269 and 1271, differed greatly in character from his father. First he was a statesman, not anxious to satisfy his immediate necessities at no matter what cost, but looking ahead so that his actions might redound to future benefit even more than to the relief of present needs. He was also of a religious disposition, and influenced by the wishes of Rome more than was his father. Already, before his accession, his sympathies and favour had been gained by the minor barons—the class most in the debt of the Jews—and the indebtedness of the ecclesiastical institutions appealed to him both as a Christian and an Englishman. He saw that the relations between the Jews and the people during the preceding reign had reacted unfavourably on both parties, and the practice that had been growing up of transferring estates to the Church in order to obtain relief from indebtedness to the Jews offended against his well-thought-out views in statecraft. Meanwhile a greater and conscientious antipathy to usury had been growing up in clerical minds both in England and on the Continent, and Edward, as a loyal son of the Church, could not be unaffected by those views. In another direction the Jewish question had undergone a change. The Jews were no longer of the value to the king, either absolutely or relatively, that they had been as recently as half a century earlier. The ceaseless exactions of the crown, the frequent spoliations by the people, not to speak of the competition of the Italians, had impoverished a community which had once possessed considerable wealth. In financial transactions the Italians, with their wealthy continental connexions, were of far more use than the Jews. The greater needs of the crown had, moreover, rendered the Jewish portion of the revenue relatively, as well as absolutely, far smaller than it had formerly been.

Edward I.

Edward was abroad at the time of his accession, and did not return for nearly two years. At first the attitude of the crown towards the Jews was much as heretofore. New justices were appointed, the extent of the property of the Jews carefully inquired into, individuals taxed, fined, and imprisoned, and their debtors released or transferred to the king in accordance with the royal will or whim. The opening of the reign was signalized by a tallage levied not only on adults but also on children, and failure to pay the allotted quota meant banishment as well as confiscation of property. Edward had, however, determined on dealing with the Jewish question as a whole, and accordingly, in the year after his return to England (1275), Parliament adopted the Statute *de Judaismo*, as follows:

Tallage levied on children.

'The King having observed that, in times past, many honest men have lost their inheritances, by the usury of the Jews; and that many sins have from thence arisen: (notwithstanding they are, and have been, very profitable to him, and his ancestors) ordains and establishes, for the honour of God, and the common benefit of the people, that no Jew, hereafter, shall in any manner practise usury. And that no usurious contracts already made, since the feast of St. Edward, last past, shall stand good, excepting covenants relating to the principal Sum. Provided also, that all those who are indebted to the Jews, upon pledges moveable, shall redeem them, before Easter next, under pain of forfeiture. And if any Jew shall practice usury against the intent of this statute, the King promises neither to give him assistance, by himself, or officers, in recovering his debts, but on the contrary, will punish him for his trespass, and assist the Christians against him, in the recovery of their pledges. And it is further enacted, that no distress for any Jew's debt, shall hereafter be so grievous, as not to leave Christians the moiety of their lands and chattels, for subsistance. And that no distress shall be made by any such Jew, upon the heir of his debtor named in the bond, or any other person in possession of the debtor's lands, before such debt shall be proved in court. And if the sheriff, or other bailiff, is commanded by the King, to give seisin or possession to any Jew, of lands or chattels, to the value of his debt, the chattels shall

The Statute *de Judaismo.*

first be appraised by the oath of honest men, and delivered to the Jew or Jewess, to the value of the debt. And if the chattels be not found sufficient to answer it, then the lands shall be extended, by the same oath, according to their separate values, before seisin is given of them to the Jew or Jewess; to the intent, that when the debt is certainly known to be discharged, the Christian may have his lands again. Saving to the Christian, nevertheless, the moiety of his lands and chattels, and the chief house for his substinance, as is before expressed. And if anything stolen be found in the possession of a Jew, let him have his summons, if he regularly may have it: if not, he shall answer in such a manner as a Christian would be obliged to, without claiming any privilege. Likewise all Jews shall be resident in such cities, and boroughs, as are the King's own; where the common chest of their indentures is wont to be kept. And every one of them, that is past seven years of age, shall wear a badge, in form of two tables, of yellow taffety, six fingers long, and three fingers broad, upon his upper garment; and every one that is past twelve years, shall also pay annually, to the King, at Easter, the sum of three pence, both men, and women. And no Jew shall have power to alienate in fee, either to Jew, or Christian, any houses, rents, or tenements, which they have already purchased, or dispose of them in any manner, or acquit any Christian of his debt, without the King's special licence, till he hath otherwise ordained. And because Holy Church, wills and permits, that they should live, and be protected, the King takes them into his protection; and commands that they shall live guarded, and defended, by his sheriffs, bailiffs, and other liege people. And that none shall do them harm, either in their persons, or goods, moveable or immoveable, or sue, implead, or challenge them in any courts but the King's courts, wheresoever they are. And that none of them shall be obedient, respondent, or pay any rent, to any but the King, or his bailiffs, in his name, excepting for their houses which they now hold, rendering rent; Saving, likewise, the rights of Holy Church. And the King also grants, that they may practice merchandise, or live by their labour, and for those purposes, freely converse with Christians. Excepting

Further details of the Act.

that upon any pretence whatever, they shall not be levant, or couchant, amongst them; nor on account of their merchandise, be in Scots, lots, or talliage, with the other inhabitants of those cities, or boroughs, where they remain: seeing they are talliable to the King as his own vassals, and not otherwise. Moreover the King grants them free liberty to purchase houses, and curtilages, in the cities and boroughs where they reside; provided they are held in chief of the King. Saving to the lords their due, and accustomed services. And further, the King grants, that such as are unskilful in merchandise, and can't labour, may take lands to farm, for any term not exceeding ten years; provided no homage, fealty, or any such kind of service, or advowson to Holy Church, be belonging to them. Provided also that this power to farm lands shall continue in force for fifteen years, from the making of this Act, and no longer.'[1]

The effects of the Act.

The effect of this Act was to prevent the recovery by law of interest due, and to render only half the debtor's property liable for the principal. On the other hand, Jews were permitted to trade, to purchase house property in those cities, from which they were not by law excluded, and to hold farms on leases not exceeding ten years. The last concession, which was to be in force for fifteen years, was not to carry with it homage or fealty from Christians. The dependent status of the Jews was affirmed, a poll-tax of three pence per annum laid on them, and both sexes ordered to wear badges. The Church had long been striving to enforce this indignity on Jewesses, who had hitherto been free from it. The policy of the English Government for two centuries had been to exclude Jews from all occupations but finance, and to this calling they had consequently devoted almost all their talents. The Statute *de Judaismo* rendered this occupation no longer possible, and despite the concessions, more apparent than real, placed the whole of Anglo-Jewry face to face with starvation. The guilds practically held the monopolies of trade and craftsmanship, and from many of these, Jews were legally excluded, while the others it was practically impossible for them to enter. There is only one known instance before the Expulsion of a Jew becoming a member of a guild. For agriculture they had had no training. The prohibition from mixing with Christians prevented them from obtaining any, and the brief tenure of their farms successfully militated against the Jews taking to agriculture in England. Peripatetic commerce was at the best a dangerous occupation in the England of that period, and to a Jew trebly so. Of all occupations the only possible one open for the Jews seemed to be the export of wool, the staple product, on a large scale. In this occupation obviously but an insignificant number could be engaged. For the remainder no avenue of earning a livelihood lay open.

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[1] Christians had already been prohibited from practising usury, and it was said that to escape that legislation certain of them had embraced Judaism (*Fœdera*, 539).

Distress of the Jews

Despite all enactments, however, the Jews had to live and did live. The easiest method of evading the statute was to follow the example of the Cahorsin and other Christian usurers, and lend money ostensibly without interest, but in reality at a very good profit. To assist in such evasions there were would-be borrowers without number. The poorer Jews, who had in the past either lived in the service of their richer brethren—now in many instances no longer capable of retaining them—or had eked out their existence by evasion of the anti-Jewish laws, at times and in places not too strictly enforced, had, however, no such opportunities. Some are said to have taken to highway robbery and burglary; a few accepted food and shelter as the price of apostasy; others again, driven to extremes by the hopelessness of their situation, tampered with the coinage in order to supply themselves with food. The coinage had long lent itself easily to clipping, and for almost half a century the offence had been prevalent in England. At an earlier period the Jews had petitioned the king for the expulsion of Jews guilty of tampering with the coinage, and an official inquiry in 1248 had decided that Jews, Cahorsins, and Flemish wool-merchants were responsible for the then unsatisfactory condition of the currency. The suspicions aroused on that occasion were not allowed to die away, and when Edward in 1278 proposed to reform the currency, his first step was to seize all the

All the Jews imprisoned.

Jews in the country, imprison them, and have their houses searched. Similar treatment was meted out to a few goldsmiths and other non-Jews suspected of the same offence. A trial was held, and a large number of Christians and Jews found guilty. Of the former, however, only three were sentenced to death: in London alone, 293 Jews were hanged and drawn. A few others escaped the same fate by accepting Christianity.

293 Jews hanged.

This new form of persecution encouraged hosts of informers, who were, however, always ready to hold their peace, if sufficient blackmail were offered. When, to a Jew, accusation was almost invariably the equivalent of conviction, the hunted victims were only too anxious to buy their lives at almost any price. A new and lucrative profession of Jew-blackmailing speedily sprung up, but the king, quickly recognizing the state of affairs, issued writs to the effect that any Jew not accused by a certain date, might on payment of a fine to the crown be relieved of the consequences of any future accusation. Several Jews of their own accord, when in danger of false accusation, appealed to the king for inquiry. Edward recognizing that his haste had endangered the success of his policy, a few years later relaxed the anti-usury laws of 1273, and by further legislation legalized money-lending at a definite rate of interest and for short periods.[1]

Edward had not only the good of the State at heart: the advantage of religion was also his concern. Since the time of Innocent III, and in England of Stephen Langton, the hostility of the Christian Church towards Jewry had grown. In England the religious aspect of the persecution of the Jews had been less pronounced than on the Continent, for English rulers had always shown themselves less subservient to Papal influence than continental monarchs. Edward, however, was more loyal in his adhesion to the Church than were his predecessors, and the wishes of Rome had consequently greater weight with him. So soon as the social and political status of the Jews of England had been settled, attention was directed to the condition of their souls. In 1279 a proclamation was issued directing that any Jew guilty of blaspheming the doctrines of Christianity should be severely punished—one was burnt at Norwich for this offence. Writs were also issued to the sheriffs and bailiffs, directing them to compel all Jews within their respective jurisdictions to attend sermons by the Dominicans, preached for the purpose of convincing them of their errors and of influencing their conversion to Christianity. The king on his part consented to forgo his right to the whole of the property of a convert, agreeing to allow him one-half for his support, and to devote the other to the use of the poorer converts.

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[1] It is not certain whether legislation to this effect was adopted or only proposed.

Jews compelled to attend sermons by the Dominicans.

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CHAPTER XI

THE EXPULSION

(1282–1290)

The synagogues of London suppressed.

THE last decade of the history of Pre-Expulsion Anglo-Jewry opened with a further attack on the religious rights of the Jews. The chief synagogues of the Jews of London had before the close of the reign of Henry III been seized, and only the smaller semi-private or private ones remained to the community. This semi-proscription of Judaism was still insufficient to satisfy such zealous churchmen as the primate, John of Peckham, and on his insistence, in 1282, the smaller places of worship were also suppressed.

Although the taxable value of the community had considerably decreased—their impoverishment was one of the reasons that enabled Edward to dispense with them—the Jews had once more to suffer extortion before they were finally released from bondage. Once again, on this occasion in 1286, the whole of Anglo-Jewry was suddenly seized and cast into prison. The Commons offered a tax of a fifth of their movables if the Jews were expelled, but the latter offered a larger bribe, and they were released on payment of a ransom of 12,000 pounds of silver.

In the same year the Pope, Honorius IV, issued a bull to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, in which 'the accursed and perfidious Jews' of England were denounced, their sacred writings were condemned, and their efforts to recover persons who had lapsed from Judaism anathematized. The service of Christians to Jews and the social intercourse between members of the two communities were emphasized as casting 'opprobrium on the majesty of God'. The English hierarchy had been often asked to remedy these evils, but had hitherto done but little in that direction. They were now told that they were 'bound to rise up with ready courage against such audacity in order that it may be completely suppressed and confounded and that the dignity and glory of the Catholic Faith may increase. Therefore by this apostolic writing we give orders that, as the duty of your office demands, you shall use inhibitions, spiritual and temporal penalties, and other methods, which shall seem good to you, and which in your preaching and at other fitting times you shall set forth, to the end, that this disease may be checked by proper remedies'.

Ecclesiastical enactments.

These injunctions were not without effect. At the Synod of Exeter of 1287 all previous ecclesiastical enactments against the Jews of England were reaffirmed. It was decreed that Jews should not be permitted to appear in public at Easter, and that the practice of medicine by Jews should be prohibited. The bull of the Pope, beyond arousing the archbishop to this action, had also its effect on the most Christian Prince, Edward. He saw that his policy, as embodied in the Statute *de Judaismo*, of gradually assimilating the Jews with the surrounding population, was distasteful to Rome, whose desires were that the Jews should be kept carefully apart from Christians. A new treatment had therefore to be introduced. Edward was at the time of the issue of the bull in his French possessions of Gascony, and his new policy was first put into force there by the expulsion of the Jews from that territory in 1288.

The Jews expelled from Gascony.

The reports of Edward's action in France preceded him to London, where, in consequence, he was received with all the marks of popularity from every class of the population. Parliament on its assembly voted him a fifteenth part of their movables and the clergy a tenth, provided that he would confer on England the benefits he had granted his Gascon subjects, and expel the Jews from the kingdom. The petitions were granted and on the 18th of July 1290 the writs were issued announcing the expulsion of the Jews to take effect on the Feast of All Saints of that year.

The Expulsion.

About 16,000 Jews, who had gradually been restricted to seventeen towns, left England. The king, possessed by no vindictive passion for persecution, took steps so that they should be allowed to depart in peace, without molestation. They were allowed to take their movable property with them, as well as all pledges that had not been redeemed. Except in the case of one or two favourites, the houses, synagogues, cemeteries, bonds either as acknowledgments of debt or of undertakings to deliver merchandise already paid for in part, were forfeited. The sheriffs were ordered to make proclamation that until the appointed day of banishment no one should harm or rob the Jews, but, on the other hand, they should be guarded, and for those willing to pay, safe transport out of the country provided. The Wardens of the Cinque Ports were commanded, under penalties, to treat the Jews civilly and honestly, and to furnish the poorer ones with transport to the Continent at reduced rates.[1]

This attitude of the king was, however, not shared by the people, and the last journey of the Jews in England was pursued amid the insults and assaults of the populace. The Jews of London departed on St. Denis' Day. The richer ones had arranged with a shipmaster to convey them and their belongings to the less hostile shore of the Continent. In Holinshed's words: 'A sort of the richest of them, being shipped with their treasure in a mightie tall ship which they had hired, when the same was under saile, and got downe the Thames towards the mouth of the river beyond Quinborowe (Queenborough), the maister mariner bethought him of a wile, and caused his men to cast anchor, and so rode at the same, till the ship by ebbing of the streame remained on the drie sands. The maister herewith enticed the Jewes to walke out with him on land for recreation. And at length when he understood the tide to be comming in, he got him backe to the ship, whither he was drawne up by a cord. The Jewes made not so much hast as he did, bicause they were not ware of the danger. But when they perceived how the matter stood, they cried to him for helpe : howbeit he told them, that they ought to crie rather unto Moses, by whose conduct their fathers passed through the red sea, and therefore, if they would call to him for helpe, he was able inough to help them out of those raging flouds, which now came in upon them : they cried indeed, but no succour appeared, and so they were swallowed up in water.' The master and sailors appropriated the property of their victims and returned to London. Retribution met them, for they were tried and hanged for their crime.

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[1] The Queen-Mother used all her influence with her son to secure the expulsion of the Jews.

The fate of the exiles.

Other exiles were shipwrecked and drowned. The survivors were allowed by the king of France to settle temporarily in his kingdom. Such compassion, however, called forth the protests of the Papacy, and the *Parlement de la Chandeleur* accordingly decreed that all Jewish fugitives from Gascony or England should leave the kingdom. This decree appears not to have been rigidly executed, and many managed to conceal themselves among the relatively considerable Jewish population of France. A body of about 1,300 English Jews sailed direct for Flanders.[1] Others probably reached Germany, and possibly Spain, which had then a large Jewish population.

Practically the whole of the property the Jews left behind them in England passed into the hands of the king. It was ordered to be sold and the proceeds devoted to pious purposes. But it is to be feared that in many instances the King's favour was accepted as sufficient evidence of piety.

Before leaving this part of our story, a few words may be added regarding some of the larger Jewish settlements in the provinces in the period before the Expulsion.

Lincoln.

At Lincoln, at one time the second most important town in the country, the Jews settled in comparatively large numbers ; Steep Hill, between the old Roman colony and the new Castle and Cathedral, was the Jewish centre. The earliest mention of them occurs in 1159. Between the attack on the Jews in 1190 and the St. Hugh incident the chief event in the history of Lincoln Jewry was another attack in 1220. For a large portion

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[1] Many also are said to have taken refuge in Scotland. See Howell's *Josippon.*

Benedict fil Mosse. of the thirteenth century the leading Jew of Lincoln was Benedict fil Mosse, identified by Joseph Jacobs with Berechiah de Nicole. Benedict, who was a son of Rabbi Moses ben Yomtob of London, was an authority, frequently quoted, on Jewish law and observance. He was one of the Jews sent to London in connexion with the affair of Little St. Hugh of Lincoln, but was released before trial. Benedict died after 1256. Another rich thirteenth-century Jew of Lincoln, who suffered severely from the exactions of the king, was Leo. In 1266, eleven years after the case of Hugh, in the midst of the Barons' Wars, the 'Disinherited' made an attack on the Lincoln Jewry, and succeeded in their chief object of destroying the records of indebtedness to the Jews. Despite these troubles, Lincoln continued an important Jewish centre until the Expulsion, and in addition to being, from the Jewish point of view, a place of commercial and financial importance, according to Jacobs, it was the seat of a Jewish college.

Norwich. After London, Oxford, and Cambridge, Norwich is the earliest English town mentioned as being inhabited by Jews. In the interval between the so-called martyrdom of William and the charge of circumcising a Christian child in 1234, the Norwich community remained one of the most prosperous in the country. Its most prominent member in the twelfth century was Jurnet of Norwich, who in 1186 was fined 6,000 marks, in addition to forfeiture of his wife's lands, for marrying a Christian, Miryld, daughter of Humphrey de Havile. The massacre of 1190 has already been mentioned, as has also the outstanding figure of the thirteenth century, Isaac of Norwich.

Oxford. It was at Oxford that the deacon, who in 1222 had embraced Judaism for the love of a Jewess, was degraded and burnt. This case of conversion was, it seems, not solitary, and to counteract the influence that the Jews were wielding over the scholars of the university and the children of the inhabitants, the Dominicans had in 1221 formed a settlement in the very heart of the Jewry. They seem to have had some success in carrying the war into the enemy's camp, for the number of converted Jews was sufficient to necessitate the establishment of a House of Converts. In 1235 certain Jews were imprisoned for abducting one of these converts, but released by the king, as innocent. Nine years later, however, the Jewry was attacked by the clerics, who were indebted to its inhabitants. For this offence the annals of the period strangely record that forty-five of the assailants were committed to prison. In 1260 there was a dispute between the constable of Oxford Castle and the chancellor of the university as to jurisdiction over the local Jews. The decision was given by the king in favour of the chancellor.

York.

The terrible events of 1190 had annihilated the Jewish community of the northern capital, and for a time there were no Jews in York. But the economic necessities of so important a centre compelled the re-establishment of a Jewish community, and a small number collected again within the shadow of Clifford's Tower. Of these, several were children or other relatives of victims of the massacre, and prominent among them was Aaron, a son of Josce, one of the leaders of the martyrs of York. Aaron of York, who was born before 1190 and died after 1253, was appointed Archpresbyter in 1237, in succession to Josce of London. He held the office until 1243, when he was succeeded by Elias of London. Among the other prominent York Jews of the period were Benedict Episcopus; Samuel (*d.* 1238), brother of Aaron; Leo Episcopus (*d.* 1244); the last-named's son Samuel (*d.* 1250); Josceus of Canterbury and his sons Bonamicus and Samuel. Until the death of these, York remained an important centre of Anglo-Jewry, although it never recovered its glories of the period before the massacre. In common with those of the other Jewish centres, its fortunes, however, subsequently declined until the day on which York Jewry was overwhelmed in the catastrophe common to the whole of Anglo-Jewry.

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tory and Antiquities of the University of Oxford; A. Neubauer, *Notes on the Jews in Oxford*; A. Hume, *St. Hugh of Lincoln*; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, articles 'Berechiah de Nicole', 'Lincoln', 'Norwich', 'Oxford', 'York'; *Patent Rolls of the Reign of Edward I*, 1281 *to* 1292 (1893); *Close Rolls of the Reign of Edward I*, 1288 *to* 1296 (1904); H. P. Stokes, 'The Relationship between the Jews and the Royal Family in the Thirteenth Century' (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. Eng.*, vol. viii, 1918).

CHAPTER XII

PRE-EXPULSION JEWRY

The Arch-presbyter and other officials

FEW records have remained to describe the internal organization of the Anglo-Jewish community before the Expulsion. Of the *Presbyter Judaeorum* or Arch-presbyter mention has already been made. Not only had this functionary judicial rights in connexion with the Exchequer of the Jews, but he also seems to have had some civil control over the community; and perhaps for that reason the Arch-presbyter, who was appointed by the king on the nomination of the Jews, or with his approval, was invariably chosen from among the richest Jews in the kingdom. There were also rabbis, *Dayanim* or ecclesiastical assessors, and other religious officials. References have also been found to the honorary officials usually found in Jewish communities, the *Parnassim* or presidents of the congregation, and the *Gabbayim* or treasurers. Other officers mentioned previously were the justices of the Jews, the chirographers, and the clerks of the Jewish Exchequer.

The numbers of the Jews.

For a long period of the sojourn of the Jews in England there seems to have been a continual infiltration of foreign Jews, and we meet members of the community coming from France, Germany, Flanders, Italy, Spain, and even Russia. Any computation of the numbers of the Jewish population must be little more than guess-work, for there is no material on which to work. At the time of the Expulsion the Jewish population did not exceed 16,500, and it is probable that this is the highest point it ever attained. The natural increase was frequently neutralized by wholesale executions or massacres, which involved a not insignificant proportion of the small number of

Jews. Of course this number was relatively much greater than it would appear at present. Until the Jews were artificially restricted as to residence their distribution followed that of the general population. It has already been mentioned that the occupations of the Jews were necessarily almost entirely confined to finance and commerce. In addition there were, as will be shown later, those who devoted themselves to Jewish literature. There seem also to have been occasional entries into other occupations. The solitary Jewish member of a guild has already been mentioned. The goldsmith's art also attracted Jews, and one Leo acted in that capacity to John. Jews throughout the Continent were especially experienced in medicine, and on many occasions were entrusted with the care of the health of popes and kings. In England consequently there need be no surprise at finding an occasional Jewish physician, although but few appear to have been known in the country. The suggestion has, however, been made that in the earlier period Jews taught in the English hospitals. It has also been said that the Jews, when pledged to the Earl of Cornwall, were forced to work in the tin mines of his earldom, and to this apocryphal Jewish connexion part of the nomenclature of Cornwall has been attributed.

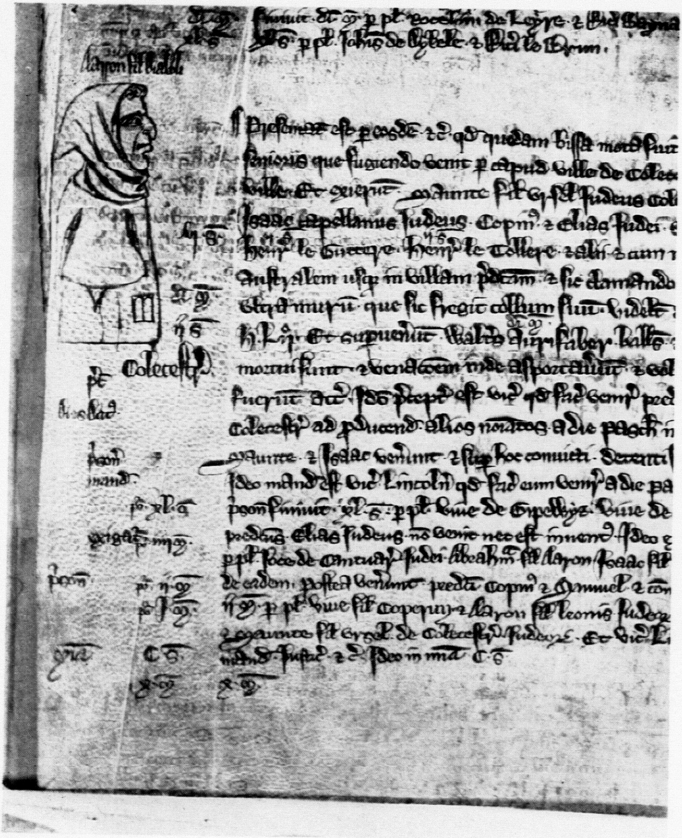
Their occupations.

Three classes in Anglo-Jewry.

The Jewish population of England, immediately preceding the Expulsion, has been divided by Sir Lionel Abrahams into three classes. The first, consisting of very few families, was composed of the rich members of the community, the leading members of the various congregations, engaged formerly in financial transactions, and towards the end exporters of wool and corn. Those of the second class, more numerous, but still a minority, were moneylenders on a small scale, and pawnbrokers. Those of the third class, forming the great majority, were either in a state of poverty or bordering on that condition. They earned their livings in the service of their richer co-religionists, for none other would employ them.

Their costume and social customs.

The costume of the English Jew included the horned cap, and a badge in form peculiar to this country. The language spoken by them in England was the same as that of the better classes; French Jews fought duels just as their Christian neigh-



AARON, SON OF THE DEVIL

A caricature of a Jew dated 1277, made in the margin of a contemporary legal document relating to a breach of the Forest Laws in which one of the offenders, Cok, son of Aaron, was a Jew. Presumably the caricature relates to the father of Cok. The cowl denotes that the wearer did not perform out of door work; the badge in the form of the two tables of the law was that imposed on all English Jews.

Reproduced from the original document in the Public Record Office, Forest Roll, Essex, 5 Ed. I.

bours, and one supposed reference has even been found to a Jewish knight. Until relations were embittered by outside influences, the social relations between Jews and Christians seem to have been friendly. They visited one another, and ate—or at any rate drank—at one another's tables. Evidence of this we find from both sides. On the one hand, there are the frequent warnings by the Church against eating and other social intercourse with Jews; on the other, a contemporary Hebrew authority states: 'It is surprising that in the land of the Isle (England) they are lenient in the matter of drinking strong drinks of the Gentiles and along with them. For the Law is distinctly according to those Doctors who forbid it on the ground that it leads to inter-marriage. But, perhaps, as there would be great ill-feeling if they were to refrain from this, one must not be severe upon them.'[1] Even as late as 1286, Bishop Swinfeld threatened to excommunicate several of his flock who wished to attend the wedding of the daughter of a leading Jew of Hereford. Marriages between Jews and Christians took place, and the balance of conversion during the periods of prosperity seems to have tended towards Judaism rather than Christianity. The Jews were the first in England to erect private dwelling-houses of stone. These were necessary as much for defence as for comfort. Several of these dwellings afterwards passed into the hands of nobles, who used them as their town houses. Others were considered fit to be transformed into public buildings.

Their religious observances.

The religious observances do not appear to have differed from those of the Jews of France. The synagogue, then the centre of the congregation, in reality a meeting-place, was not devoted solely to religious purposes. As in France, Jews, when 'called to the law' in the synagogue, were accustomed to go up bareheaded. As was universal at that time in Jewry, and still occurs where the position of the Jews is precarious, Jews were betrothed by their parents when quite young, for the pathetic reason that although the father of the bride might, at the time, be able to give his daughter a dowry, the insecurity was so great that at any time he might be reduced to poverty by the confiscation or looting of his property. The frequent exactions, coupled with the youth of the newly-married couple, were responsible for the arrangements whereby for a time they remained in the household of the bride's parents. The Jews of England, as elsewhere—no matter how bitter the persecution they suffered—never neglected the education of their children, and among the records of Pre-Expulsion Jewry the designation 'Magister Puerorum' is to be found. Every community had its school attached to the synagogue, and in London and the larger towns there appear to have been seminaries of Jewish learning. The knowledge of Hebrew was widespread among Jewesses as well as among Jews, and a code of education, drawn up, there is every reason to believe, for the guidance of English Jews, is still in existence. This code includes among its directions that every first-born male should be set aside for the study of the Law (i.e. Jewish literature). His course of studies from the age of five is carefully laid down. The teachers were to devote themselves entirely to their profession. The ritual used by the English Jews, although in the main identical with the North-French, yet had some local variations, and both differed in many details from that in use among the Jews of Germany.

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[1] See *Jews in Angevin England*, p. 269.

Educational facilities.

Literature.

Among Jacobs' many services to the study of Pre-Expulsion Anglo-Jewish history has been his piecing together of the story of Jewish literature in England during the early period. 'I have come to the conclusion', he wrote, 'that during the last third of the twelfth century the English Jews held the lead in spiritual and literary activity among the Israelites of Northern Europe. I have discovered among them, as I think, a whole school of Massorites and grammarians, a couple of religious poets, a writer on astronomy, several exegetes of importance. . . . It should not surprise us that the Jews of England shared in the spiritual hegemony which her position as head of the Angevin Empire gave England at the end of the twelfth century over all the Romance-speaking nations of Europe.'[1] This claim is too high, but the twelfth century was an illuminating period in Jewish literature, and in the general movement

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[1] *Angevin England*, p. v.

Anglo-Jewry took part. The literary renaissance among the English Jews came from France—the first of the missionaries seems to have been Rabbi Simeon Chasid of Treves, who was in England from 1106 to 1146—but the new cult soon took root, and flourished without outward assistance. Other prominent French scholars who visited England were Rabbi Yomtob of Joigny, the martyr of York; Rabbi Samuel ben Solomon of Falaise (Sir Morell of England); Jacob of Orleans, killed in London in 1189; and, Jacobs believes, also Rabbi Elchanan ben Isaac of Dampierre, and his pupil Jehuda ben Isaac (Sir Leon of Paris) (1166–1224), one of the most important commentators on the *Gemara.* The most illustrious of the foreign Jewish visitors to England was the distinguished writer and scholar, Abraham ibn Ezra (1092 or 1093–1167). Ibn Ezra not only lectured during his visits to London, but also wrote there his *Yesod Mora,* a philosophic-religious work dedicated to his pupil, Joseph ben Jacob of London, and *The Letter of Sabbath.*

Distinguished visitors.

In the school of Massorites (critics of the text) and grammarians, the first name is that of Samuel Nakdan, and prominent among his successors were Berachyah Nakdan (Benedict le Puncteur of Oxford), Rabbi Benjamin of Cambridge, and Samuel le Pointur of Bristol. Other important Anglo-Jewish Massorites and grammarians were Moses ben Yomtob of London and Moses ben Isaac. Another Anglo-Jewish author was Yomtob, the father of Moses Nakdan, a writer on Jewish law. A hymn composed by Rabbi Yomtob of Joigny is still included in the Day of Atonement Liturgy of the Ashkenazim or North European Jews. Berachyah Nakdan, if Jacobs' doubtful identification be admitted, was the famous author of *The Fox Fables,* an ethical work, *Sepher Mazref,* and commentaries on several books of the Old Testament. He also translated a treatise on mineralogy. It must be added, however, that most authorities dispute the identity of the English Berachyah with the celebrated fabulist. Deodatus Episcopus was the author of an astronomical work. Anglo-Jewish authors who flourished later were Berechiah de Nicole (Lincoln), rabbi of Lincoln, an authority on ritual matters; Aaron of

Anglo-Jewish authors.

Canterbury, an exegete and dayan; Elias of London, the Archpresbyter who bearded the Earl of Cornwall; Jacob ben Judah of London, poet and author of *Etz Chayim*, a book on the ritual; Meïr of Norwich, a liturgical poet. Hagin, the Archpresbyter at the time of the Expulsion, translated Ibn Ezra's astrological works into French, and *L'Image du Monde*, a French cosmographical work, into Hebrew. A large number of these Anglo-Jewish scholars were related, and a genealogical tree has been constructed by Jacobs,[1] and supplemented by David Kauffmann.[2]

The Jews did not keep their learning to themselves; and in the happier period they had schools at Oxford, for instance, where Christian scholars studied Hebrew and other subjects. On the Expulsion, many of the Hebrew books were taken away by the fugitives, but some remained behind. These came into the hands of English scholars, among others Roger Bacon. At his death his Hebrew library passed into the possession of the Franciscan Friars.

Anglo-Jewish nomenclature.

During the period dealt with in the preceding pages, surnames, in the modern sense of the term, were of course unknown. Mere personal names were, however, insufficient to identify individuals, and explanatory additions—which in later generations crystallized into inherited surnames—were to be found attached to the personal names. In Anglo-Jewish nomenclature, representatives of four classes into which surnames may be divided are to be found.

Patronymics and nicknames.

Patronymics, such as Aaron fil Isaac, Abraham fil Rabbi, Abraham fil Muriel, &c., were numerous. Other relationships were explained by such names as Aaron frater Leonis de Dunstaple, Abraham gener Elie, Avigay uxor Jacob, Anna mater Lumbardi. Of local names also a great number are to be met with; among others, Aaron de Colcestre, Amiot de Excestre, Isaac de Joueigny, Ysaac de Russie, Deulecresse de Danemarcia (Ardennes), Josce de Domo Samson, Cok de Domo Abrahe. Occupations and offices were designated in the names Abraham Gabbai (the treasurer of a synagogue), Abraham Pernas (the president of a congregation), Benjamin Magister (a schoolmaster), Isaac

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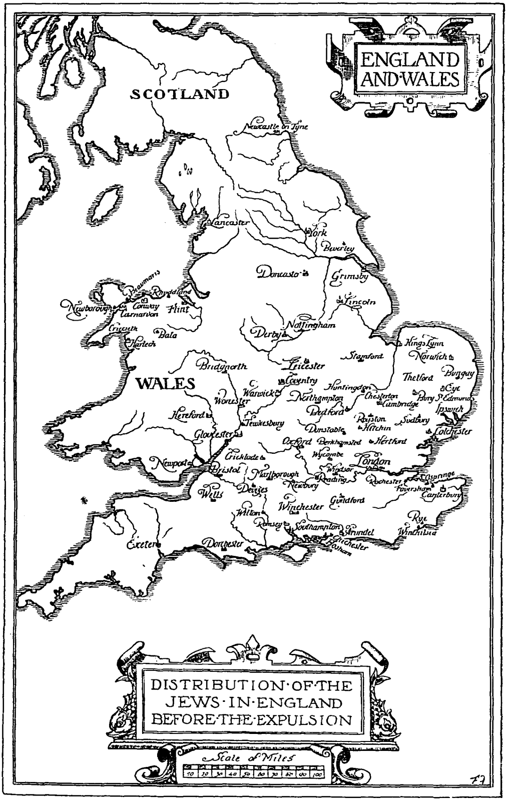
[1] The London Jewry.

[2] *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. iii.


ENGLAND AND WALES
SCOTLAND
Newcastle on Tyne
Lancaster
York
Beverley
Doncaster
Grimsby
Lincoln
Beaumaris
Rhuddland
Newborough
Conway
Carnarvon
Flint
Criccieth
Bala
Harlech
Nottingham
Derby
Stamford
Kings Lynn
Norwich
Bridgnorth
Leicester
Coventry
Warwick
Worcester
Huntingdon
Northampton
Chesterton
Cambridge
Thetford
Bungay
Eye
Bury St Edmunds
Ipswich
WALES
Hereford
Tewkesbury
Bedford
Royston
Hitchin
Sudbury
Colchester
Gloucester
Dunstable
Oxford
Berkhamsted
Hertford
Wycombe
London
Newport
Cricklade
Bristol
Marlborough
Windsor
Reading
Rochester
Ospringe
Faversham
Canterbury
Newbury
Wells
Devizes
Guildford
Winchester
Wilton
Rye
Winchelsea
Romsey
Southampton
Arundel
Chichester
Bosham
Exeter
Dorchester
Scale of Miles
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
FJ

DISTRIBUTION·OF·THE
JEWS·IN·ENGLAND
BEFORE·THE·EXPULSION

Medicus, Isaac Magister Puerorum, Moses Nakdan, &c. The fourth class, descriptive names and nicknames, includes Benedict Parvus, Benedict Lengus, Deudone cum pedibus tortis, Duzelina vidua Mossy cum naso, Isaac le Gros, Isaac Senex, Mosse Juvenis, &c. Early Anglo-Jewish names proper were for the most part Biblical, although in many instances they were rendered by Latin or French equivalents. Of these there are, for instance, Deodatus (Nathaniel or Elchanan), Josceus and Josce (Joseph), Vivard, Vivelot, Vives and Hagin (Chajim), Deulecresse and Cresse (Deus eum crescat, Gedaliah), Bendit and Benedict (Berachyah and Baruch), Helye (Elias), Biket (a diminutive of Rebecca), Deudone (Jonathan), Deulabenie (Berachyah), Serfdeu (Obadiah), Deulesalt (Isaiah), and many others.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE MIDDLE PERIOD

(1290–1550)

FOR long the opinion was held, that with the exile of the Jews of England by Edward all connexion between them and that country came to an end, and that for the three and a half centuries following the Expulsion no Jew touched English ground. Such a view has, however, now been proved incorrect. So far from the truth is it, that instead of a total exclusion of Jewry from England, hardly a year seems to have passed between the Expulsion and the Resettlement in which one or more Jews, often professing Judaism, could not be found in the country either as visitors or as residents. On the other hand, however, until the reign of Charles I no organized community seems to have existed, and interpreting the word Jewry in that sense rather than as the haphazard gathering of individual Jews, one is justified in saying that the history of the Jews in England closed in 1290, not to be resumed until 1655.

Probable survivors of the Expulsion.

Leaving the question of an organized community aside, and considering merely the case of individual Jews, the question at once arises whether the Expulsion of 1290 included every member of the community. Although no definite evidence can be found of the tarrying of Jews after the bulk of their co-religionists had departed, the English expulsion, if it had been complete, would have differed from all similar tribulations of the Jews elsewhere. It is beyond the limits of possibility for all the members of a race without a solitary exception to be of the mould of martyrs. The great majority of the Jews of England, like, for instance, the 800,000 who followed the lead of Isaac Abravanel in the exodus from Spain two hundred and two years later, did not hesitate to prefer the loss of all temporal advantages, of the comfort that to most people means the whole of life, to resume their weary and endless pilgrimage, rather than accept what they considered apostasy, or even as secret-Jews to render lip-service to a creed with which in their hearts they had no sympathy. To the English Jew of the thirteenth century the mere formality of baptism meant the close of all his persecutions. Despite this overwhelming temptation but few fell, and even from among those few there were frequent instances of reversion to Judaism. The bulk of the Jews of England preferred exile to apostasy. As in the case of Spain, however, there can be little doubt that there was a minority, weaker in will and in constancy, and that as Christians, more or less sincere, they remained behind and became gradually lost in the general population. The increased number of inmates of the House of Converts at this period supports the view here put forward. The eastern counties have especially been mentioned as the district in which Crypto-Jews were to be found in the succeeding centuries. At the same time there is a tradition that the Expulsion of 1290 was not complete, and that it was not until 1358 that the last vestige of Judaism was driven from the country. Oxford had many privileges beyond the ordinary English cities, and among them, it has been suggested, was the permission to retain Jews within the limits of the city after the remainder of the country had been purged of the Semitic element. A Jewish colony, it is said, remained in Oxford for long after 1290, but cut off from all connexion with the great body of Jewry or even any other Jewish settlement, in the natural course the little Jewish colony became still more attenuated, and after the lapse of generations was lost in the surrounding Christian population.

Tradition of a remnant at Oxford.

The generation of the Expulsion, only too sensible of the agony of a Jewish residence in England, once it had escaped from that purgatory was little anxious to return. To the Jew of the close of the thirteenth century, the name England must have appeared more fraught with misery than did even Egypt to his ancestors of thirty centuries earlier. Human memory is, however, short-lived, and the second generation after the Expulsion seems already to have forgotten all their parents had suffered under the rule of the early Plantagenets. 1290 was the year of the departure: only twenty years later, in 1310, six Jews—one was a physician, of the others nothing whatever is known—came on a mission to England, if possible to negotiate the readmission of their people into the country. For the Jews to desire to return after a short absence of twenty years seems at the first glance surprising. The record of contemporary Jewish history, however, helps even the casual reader to understand how even England might appear, relatively, a land of promise. During the twenty years that had elapsed since the Expulsion, there had been an anti-Jewish outbreak at Colmar; the Jews of Rome, hastening to receive Boniface VIII on his entry into the city, had been scorned and threatened; the Jews of Germany as a whole had suffered severe persecution, and those of Magdeburg in particular had been plundered and slain; and finally in 1306 the Jews had been expelled from France. Any land in which, for the moment, there was peace must have seemed a harbour of refuge for these hunted victims of expulsion, confiscation, outrage, and murder. Beyond the bare announcement of this mission of six Jews, no other mention is to be found in the surviving contemporary records. There is no reason to believe, however, that the embassy was to any extent successful, or that the hearts of the English and their rulers softened towards the helots of Christendom.[1]

A Jewish deputation visits England.

Among the opportunities afforded Jews for visiting and even settling in England undetected was the presence in the country of the Italian money-changers or usurers. The Cahorsins although the first were not the only Christian financiers who acted as the bankers of medieval England. Even before the departure of the Jews, the term Cahorsin had come to designate not merely a money-changer from Cahors, but one coming from any part of Latin Europe. In the fourteenth century the term Lombards had become synonymous with Cahorsin and denoted the same class in the community. If the suspicions expressed by the Commons in 1376 were justified, these Lombards were even more heterogeneous than the widest interpretation of the term reinforced by Cahorsin would suggest. They were accused of harbouring Saracens and spies in their midst, and the Commons even went further and stated that Jews also took refuge under the cloak of Lombardism. The official control of financial and commercial operations was at the time lax, and little difficulty would have been found by Jews in England masquerading as Lombards. So far as the king was concerned the complaints of the Commons passed unheeded, and any Jews that may have formed the basis of the suspicions remained without molestation.

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[1] MSS. Hargrave 179, fol. 295.

Jews masquerading as Lombards.

Of the few and scanty records of Jewish visitors to England during this period there exists one relating to Solomon Levi, after his conversion Paul of Burgos, former rabbi, archbishop, statesman, and persecutor of the Jews. Solomon Levi, possibly a descendant of one of the refugees of 1290, while still a Jew visited London, and in an extant letter of his, dated from that city, he complained of his isolation from co-religionists. The next reference is to one, described as a Jew in his safe conduct to come to England, who travelled accompanied by ten servants, the exact number, it has been noted, required for the quorum for service according to the Jewish rites. The king, Henry IV, who before ascending the English throne had come in contact with Jews on the Continent, was well acquainted with the reputation the race had acquired in the practice of medicine. Henry's health declined towards the close of his life, and as he failed to obtain relief from native practitioners, Elias Sabot of Bologna was summoned to attend him, and as a Jew given a safe conduct and permission to travel or settle in any part of the country. Sabot arrived in England in 1410.[1] Two years later another physician, David di Nigar

Paul of Burgos.

Jewish physicians in England.

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[1] Dr. Simonsen identifies this medieval physician with Elijah Be'er ben Shabbethai, who on account of his skill was created a Roman citizen. Elijah was private physician to Pope Martin V, and held a similar appointment under his successor, Eugene IV. In the agreement drawn up between the Pope and the Italian Jews in 1443, Elijah acted as one of the representatives of the latter.

ellis of Lucca, strongly suspected of Judaism by historians, followed him to this country. Nigarellis had an annuity granted him by the king, and was also favoured with naturalization as an English subject. The patent of naturalization accorded Nigarellis full rights, including those of holding lands and advowsons. The last-mentioned grant suggests that Nigarellis was not a Jew, at any rate by religion, at that date. If he were he was certainly the first of that faith to acquire English citizenship. Another Jewish doctor has been traced in England at the same period. Alice, the wife of Sir Richard Whittington, the famous Lord Mayor, having fallen ill, her husband obtained the royal permission to invite a Jewish doctor of the south of France to come to England to attend to her. Accordingly, in 1409, Maistre Sampson de Mierbeawe judeus was granted permission for one year to settle, travel, and practise his profession in any part of the kingdom.

Converts from Judaism.

Still earlier there had been some conversions from Judaism other than those to be mentioned in the next chapter in connexion with the *Domus Conversorum*. In 1358 a pension was bestowed upon John de Castello on his abjuring Judaism. In similar circumstances pensions were conferred on Richard de Cicilia (1389) and William Piers (1392). In 1421 one Job, an Italian apothecary, and his son John, being found in the country, had to accept baptism before receiving naturalization. From that date until almost the close of the fifteenth century a cloud descends on the doings of Jews in England, but from occasional oratorical attacks on Jewry during that period we may deduce that although nothing is heard of them, England was not altogether free from Jews. We are told, for instance, that in 1428 'the Jews of Abingdon' performed an interlude before Henry VI,[1] and we hear of one Masse Salman, who was sheriff of Southampton in 1489. He might have been a member of the race. A Jewish parentage was for long falsely attributed to the pretender Perkin Warbeck, but it is far more probable that he was for a time in the service of Sir Edward Brampton, one time Governor of Guernsey, a Portuguese Jew converted to Christianity in England whose life-story is one of the romances of Jewish biography.[1] From these references it will be seen that Jews were by no means completely unknown in fifteenth-century England.

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[1] Sir Sidney Lee in *The Times*, Nov. 1, 1883.

Effects of the expulsion from Spain.

The final act of Spanish persecution, when 800,000 Jews, men, women, and children, were cast forth penniless and almost naked, reacted on the whole of the then known world. The fugitives were scattered in all directions; numbers were received into all existing Jewish communities, and stragglers founded communities here and there of their own, some only ending their pilgrimage under the protection of the government of China. There can be no doubt that some of these stragglers found their way also to England, where, however, there was none to welcome them. In 1493 Ferdinand and Isabella had already written to Henry VII complaining that certain Jews expelled from Spain were taking proceedings in London to recover from one Diego de Soria, apparently formerly their agent, sums alleged to be due to them, and asking Henry to do them a 'special service' by annulling the proceedings. From this it is seen that the Jews of Spain before their expulsion had business relations with England, and it would have been exceptional if among their agents in this country there were not relatives and co-religionists. Five years later a Spanish mission was in England to arrange a marriage between a Spanish princess and Prince Arthur. The opportunity was taken to complain of the harbouring by England of Spanish heretics and Jews. At the request of the Spanish monarchs the Sub-Prior of Santa Cruz personally brought the matter under the notice of Henry, who promised to punish soundly any Jew to be found in his dominions. Amador de los Rios[2] states definitely that on the expulsion from Spain many Jews settled in England, and in particular communities and synagogues were established at London, York, and Dover. These communities and synagogues, if they existed, must have been kept very secret, for no reference is to be found to them elsewhere. It is quite probable that small communities of secret Jews did collect in various towns, and that they met on the usual occasions for divine service; but it is most improbable that the privacy of these services was not most strictly guarded, or that the services were known beyond the narrow circle of the refugees.

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[1] Dr. Cecil Roth in a fascinating paper in volume IX of the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England,* tells the story of this early Anglo-Jewish knight.

[2] *Historia de los Judios de España,* vol. iii.

Jewish scholars and Henry VIII's divorce.

In the following reign Judaism and the Jewish law came into very great prominence. Henry VIII, who had married Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, and lived with her for many years, in 1529 discovered doubts concerning the legitimacy of the marriage, and became anxious for a divorce. The various political influences at work rendered the legitimate satisfaction of Henry's demands extremely difficult, if not unattainable. All the applications of Henry, fortified by the opinion of the majority of the universities of Europe, were without avail on the Pope, who supported his refusals by the Mosaic code, which positively enjoined such unions in certain circumstances. In the midst of the contention such a marriage took place among the Jews of Italy, and, having so direct an application to the state of affairs in England, it was duly reported to all the courts represented in Italy. Henry and his advisers immediately saw the value of Jewish evidence and the necessity of supporting their case by rabbinic opinions. The views of learned Jews, professing and baptized, were collected from all parts of the Continent, and from several of them written opinions obtained. Of these, that of Mark Raphael of Venice attracted most attention, and the author was personally invited to come to England. The opinion of Raphael was apparently considered of great weight, for strenuous efforts were made by the other party to the controversy to gain his adhesion. Not only was an office in the service of the Pope offered to Raphael, but an attempt was made to bribe his uncle, Father Francis, also a converted Jew, with a cardinal's hat. These efforts failing, an attempt, directed by the Spanish ambassador at Rome, was made to waylay the uncle and nephew on their journey to England. This, however, also failed, and both arrived safely in London early in 1531. The case for the divorce was then placed in all its bearings before the learned Jew, who took some time to consider his decision. Raphael's response was as follows: 'That the Queen's marriage ought not to be disputed or dissolved, but, nevertheless, that the King may and can very well take another wife conjointly with his first. Although the King's marriage with the widow of his brother was a true and legitimate act, yet he does not style himself properly husband of the Queen, inasmuch as according to (Jewish) law the posterity issuing from such a union is ascribed to the first husband; and as it would be unreasonable that, in order to preserve the name and race of the deceased, the survivor should be prevented from having posterity of his own and bearing his name, the Law allows him to take another wife.' Henry was not altogether satisfied with this decision, and told Raphael that he must devise some other means of getting him out of his difficulty. Raphael thereupon set to work again, and gave the following revised response: 'It is allowable for a man to take to wife the widow of his brother, provided he do it out of his own desire and will, and with the direct intention of procuring descent to his brother's line. Without such marked intention the marriage is forbidden by Divine Law. God said so by the mouth of Moses, and cast His malediction on all those who married without such an intention, for if they did so marry, no generation could spring forth from them, and if any it could not last long.' Raphael deduced from the absence of any surviving male heir to Henry and Catherine that Henry could not have married with the above express intention, 'and consequently his marriage is illegitimate and invalid'. This opinion apparently satisfied the King. Raphael retained his favour and he was attached to the court, where he remained long a favourite.

The views of Mark Raphael.

Some ten years later, in 1542, the presence in the country of Jews was reported to the Privy Council, who directed that a list of the suspects should be drawn up. The list, unfortunately, has been lost, and no record of further action, beyond arrests, can be found, but 'certain Portuguese Jews, prisoners in London' who were released on the recommendation of the King and Queen of Portugal in the following year, were probably the

Tremellius in England.

same people.[1] In 1547, John Immanuel Tremellius, who had been converted to Christianity by Reginald Pole, visited the country. At the invitation of Archbishop Cranmer, Tremellius, in company with Peter Martyr, stayed at Lambeth Palace. Two years later he was appointed 'King's reader of Hebrew' at Cambridge, and in 1552 made Prebendary of Carlisle. On the death of Edward VI Tremellius left England, but paid another visit to the country about 1565. The next reference to a Jew appears under the date 1550, when Ferdinando Lopes, a Jewish physician living in St. Helens, London, was arrested and tried before the Lord Mayor for a serious offence, and ultimately banished the country.

AUTHORITIES:—L. Wolf, 'The Middle Period of Anglo-Jewish History, 1290–1656' (*Publ. Anglo-Jew. Hist. Exhib.*, 1888); Sir J. H. Ramsay, 'Jews in England' (*Academy*, Jan. 27, 1883); Sidney L. Lee, 'Jews in England' (*Academy*, March 18, 1882, and Feb. 3, 1883); I. Abrahams, 'Paul of Burgos in London' (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii), 'Paul of Burgos in London' (*Jew. Quart. Rev.*, vol. xii, 1900); A. Weiner, 'Jewish Doctors in England in the Reign of Henry IV' (*Jew. Quart. Rev.*, vol. xviii, 1906); D. Simonsen, 'Dr. Elias Sabot' (*Jew. Quart. Rev.*, vol. xviii, 1906); E. N. Adler, 'Auto de Fé and Jew,' ch. vi (*Jew. Quart. Rev.*, vol. xiv); Nicholas Pocock, *Records of the Reformation* (1870); G. H. Leonard, *The Expulsion of the Jews by Edward I*; *Dictionary of National Biography*, article 'J. I. Tremellius'; H. Gollancz, *The Ethical Treatises of Berachya* (1902).

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[1] *State Papers* (Spanish), 1542–3, 270, and E. N. Adler, *Auto de Fé and Jew*, p. 35.

CHAPTER XIV

THE DOMUS CONVERSORUM

(1213–1609)

IN the previous pages a sketch has been given of the story of the Jews in England. Attention has been directed solely to men and women practising Judaism, as distinct from those merely of Jewish birth, and but seldom has one who even subsequently accepted baptism been mentioned. The term 'Jew' is, however, more than a mere religious designation. There are Jews by religion who are not Jews by birth, and there are also many Jews by race who are not so by religion. During a long period of English history special provision was made by the State for these latter. Of the various elements in the Jewish persecution of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that of the Church was almost, if not altogether, entirely religious. The object of the churchmen in the successive acts of oppression directed against the Jews was to secure their conversion to Christianity. To save their souls they were anxious to sacrifice their bodies. The end justified the means. Every practicable step was, therefore, taken to secure converts. Bribes and threats were both pressed into the service of the Church, which in all circumstances, in the latter portion of the period, was ably supported by the State. In the latter direction, that of threats and persecution generally, the assistance of the Church was, perhaps, not the direct object of the State. In the success of the policy of bribes to which the State was an active party, however, the Church had everything to gain and the State nothing.

Earlier houses of converts.

The establishment by the Dominicans, assisted by the king, of a house for the reception of converts in the heart of Oxford

Jewry about 1221 has already been mentioned. Three years before the death of John, in 1213, a similar institution had been established in Southwark, where a relatively large Jewish colony was then to be found. The foundation was purely religious. It was established by Richard, Prior of Bermondsey, in honour of St. Thomas, and adjoined that monastery. The example set by this prior was followed twenty years later by the king, Henry III, who established the 'Domus Conversorum', or House for Converts in the New Street now known as Chancery Lane. The house of a rich Jew, recently come into the possession of the crown, was the nucleus of the new institution. The surrounding land in the possession of the crown was added to it. The structural alterations and extensions necessary, including the erection of a chapel, were all carried out at the royal expense, and the king, moreover, promised to devote to the same purpose 'all other escheats coming into our hands in London or in the suburb of London'. The institution was thus from the first bountifully endowed. The House was ready for occupation early in 1233, when several converts were already awaiting admission. These, to whom grants were made for clothing, may have been the men who were engaged in preparing the building for occupation, for it appears that they were themselves also converts. A custos or warden was appointed in the person of Walter, to whose office an adequate stipend was attached. The House, when full, accommodated about forty inmates, and it was usual in addition to allow pensions to others. The establishment of the House aroused some enthusiasm. Matthew Paris, writing at the time, records that Henry built the House and Chapel 'for the ransom of his soul and that of his father, King John, and all their ancestors. To this House converted Jews retired, leaving their Jewish blindness, and had a home and a safe refuge for their whole lives, living under an honourable rule, with sufficient sustenance without servile work or the profits of usury. So it happened that in a short time a large number were collected there. And now, being baptized and instructed in the Christian law, they live a praiseworthy life under a Governor specially appointed.' The higher clergy generally

Foundation of the 'Domus Conversorum'.

took a deep interest in the institution, whose endowment was supplemented by legacies besides further royal grants.

Officials of the 'Domus Conversorum'.

In addition to the warden, a chaplain was attached to the institution immediately on its establishment, and further chaplains appointed subsequently. In Edward I's reign, a new office, that of sub-warden or presbyter, was created. This appointment, which was resident, and the duties of which were connected with the financial administration, was due to the laxity that had been displayed in the administration of the 'House'. The inmates were not only housed and fed: in addition they were clothed, and received allowances, and instruction in the tenets of Christianity. At a later date their children were taught trades. The converts, who bore the designation 'Le Convers'—whence the modern English surnames of Convers and sometimes Conyers—were encouraged to enter the Church, and the chaplain was often himself a convert from Judaism. The House of Converts was also to some extent a house of study, in which Hebrew learning was by no means neglected. One of the inmates at a later date became the first professor of Hebrew at Oxford.

The form of reception.

No record remains of the procedure adopted in London on the reception of a convert. In all probability it differed but slightly, if at all, from that in use on the Continent. In Rome this was as follows. Unless the circumstances were exceptional, candidates for baptism had to await the Saturday in Holy Week. Then the convert was clothed in 'a mantle of white damask, having a lawn band on, and a small silver cross hanging about his neck. Then a cardinal, attended by the Canons of the Church (St. John Lateran), proceeds to bless the water: after which, the person to be baptized is presented to him, by his godfathers, and makes a public declaration that he desires baptism: whereupon the cardinal, causing him to lean his breast upon the font, pronounces the usual form of words, and pours water on his head, with a large silver spoon: which being done the proselyte proceeds with a lighted taper in his hand to one of the oratories and is there confirmed; the whole concluding with a mass.' We are, moreover told that Jewish converts as a rule wore 'very rueful visages'. At these baptisms distinguished personages and even the king often assisted, and occasionally the royal couple acted as god-parents to the newly baptized.

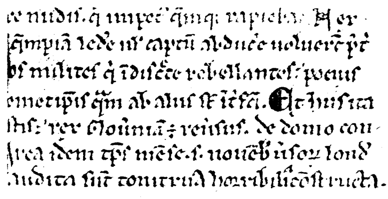
The House does not appear to have been entirely devoted to the benefit of converts, for a few years after its establishment the keeper was directed to admit the Christian widow of a convert. Some of the inmates pursued their ordinary occupations outside; for instance, in 1238, two, who were king's bowmen, had their necessaries sent to them at the Tower, where they were stationed. In 1265 the House was enlarged, but within seven years the administration had fallen into such disorder and so many abuses had sprung up, that a reorganization became a necessity. Complaint had been made to the king that the inmates were deprived of their due allowances, and compelled to beg from door to door. In a letter addressed to the Mayor of London and the warden of the House, the king directed an immediate investigation into the management of the institution and its reorganization. 'It has been shown to us on the part of our poor converts in London, that since they have nothing to maintain them and none to aid them, they are compelled to beg from door to door, and are likely to die of hunger; and that of those revenues we caused to be assigned to their maintenance, they receive nothing. Furthermore, certain rich converts, having other incomes and property, who do not reside in the aforesaid House, receive great part of its income, which is not as we desire, because we assigned revenues to the House for the poor and needy, and not for rich converts. A reform is therefore needed, and we direct you to inquire on oath as to the property belonging to the House and the way in which it is now expended, and henceforth to apply it to the use of those who are most in want, according to their necessities, and to the support of the chapel attached to the House. We also desire that all who share the revenues of the House shall reside within the building; and that all who resist your authority shall forfeit their proportionate allowance.'

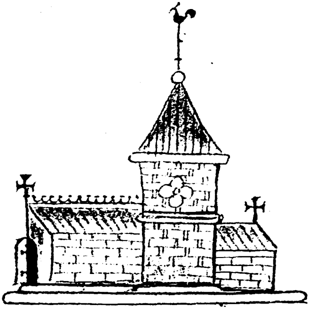
The occupations of the converts.

Henry III and the converts.

The 'Domus' under Edward I.

Whatever improvement may have been made at the close of Henry's reign proved only temporary, and affairs soon relapsed into their previous unsatisfactory condition. In 1278 the





CHURCH OF THE DOMUS CONVERSORUM
BUILT BY HENRY III
From the drawing by Matthew Paris, MS. Roy. 14C. vii. fol. 121, British Museum

inmates personally appealed to the sovereign to relieve their forlorn condition. Shortly afterwards, in another petition of a similar tenor, it was mentioned that quite a score of the inmates had died of destitution. These piteous appeals bore fruit in 1280, when the king consented to forgo for seven years his right to the property of all converts, to whom half of their means was left, the remainder going to the Home, and to devote the proceeds of the poll-tax levied on professing Jews to the upkeep of the House. The good intentions of the king were, however, to some extent defeated by the warden, who, relying on precedent, refused to submit his accounts for audit, from which refusal may be deduced the channel into which a portion of the funds disappeared. In 1290 another crisis arrived in the affairs of the House. Again the inmates were starving. The ordinary income, it was contended, was insufficient. This was increased in response to the appeal, and a regular payment ordered. The inmates asked that a keeper, who would pay due heed to their affairs, spiritual and temporal, should be appointed. The king directed the chancellor to find a person suitable for the office.

Sufferings of the converts.

The 'Domus' after the Expulsion.

With the expulsion of the Jews from England, it might reasonably have been expected that the days of the institution's usefulness would be numbered, and that it could not long survive. The expected, however, did not happen. The House remained in existence until the eighteenth century with a varying number of inmates, but until 1552 never without some of Jewish birth. As the supply of Jewish recruits became weaker, applicants for admission, otherwise qualified than by birth, were received. Arthur Antoe, 'a Pagan born, but converted to the fayth of Christe Jesus', presumably an American Indian, who was admitted in 1605, was in all probability one of these. From the designations of the Jewish converts we may perhaps receive some hints of the relics of the Expulsion, and of the places in which they were to be found. During the centuries subsequent to 1290 converts were received at Chancery Lane, from London, Exeter, Oxford, Woodstock, Northampton, Leicester, Canterbury, Merton, Winchester, Stamford, Lincoln, Bury, Arundel, Norwich, Bristol, Nottingham, and

The distribution of the candidates for admission.

Cricklade, all Jewish centres before the Expulsion. In 1377 the office of Warden was united to that of Master of the Rolls. The two offices had for some years previously been held jointly by the same person. The first layman to hold the office was Thomas Cromwell, appointed in 1534. The inmates during the period subsequent to 1290 included Elizabeth, daughter of Rabbi Moses, *episcopus Judaeorum,* otherwise described as *levesque des Jues de France et dalmaigne* (the Bishop of the Jews of France and Germany), who entered the House in 1399, ten years later married David Pole, a citizen and tailor of the city of London, but remained a pensioner and inmate of the House for another seven years. In 1409 Johanna and her daughter Alice, lately Jewish 'miscreants', of the royal city of Dartmouth, where they had apparently been engaged in business, were admitted. In 1578, after the House had been without converts for twenty-six years, Jehuda (Nathanael) Menda was admitted. He came from the Barbary States, and had been resident six years in London before his conversion. The scene attending this event in 1577 was remarkable. In the Church of All-Hallows, Lombard Street, Menda, who was both a Hebraist and a Biblical scholar, read a long statement in Spanish explaining his conversion. The statement was followed by a famous sermon by John Foxe, the martyrologist, *De Oliva Evangelica,* which took four hours in delivery. Sir Francis Walsingham, the Secretary of State, who had been anxious to be present, was prevented by illness, and Foxe immediately repaired to his house and repeated the sermon for his benefit. Menda's statement was translated into English and published, and, together with the sermon, circulated widely, thus serving to attract public attention to Jewish matters, and indirectly causing the many Jewish references that now began to appear in English literature. The presence of Menda and a colleague, Fortunati (Cooba) Massa, in the House may very well have been one of the elements that combined with others to suggest to Marlowe and to Shakespeare the treatment of Jewish topics.

Master of the Rolls as Warden of the 'Domus'.

Foxe and Menda.

In 1598 the most distinguished of the inmates of the House joined the small circle of converts. Philip Ferdinandus was born in Poland about 1555. He was first converted to

Philip Ferdinandus.

Catholicism, but afterwards adopted Protestantism. A poor student at Oxford University, his knowledge of Hebrew soon attracted attention, and he lectured in several colleges. In 1596 he matriculated at Cambridge University, where also he taught Hebrew, and counted several of the professors among his pupils. In 1599 he was an inmate of the *Domus Conversorum*. Shortly afterwards, by the introduction of the Hebraist, Joseph Scaliger, Ferdinandus was appointed Professor of Hebrew at Leyden University. While at Cambridge, Ferdinandus published a Latin volume, *Haec sunt Verba Dei* (1597), containing the 613 precepts of the Mosaic Law, together with extracts from rabbinical literature. A later inmate, Jacob Wolfgang (admitted 1606), was one of the earliest readers in the then newly-established Bodleian Library at Oxford. The last reference to an inmate of the House appears under the date 1609. In subsequent years occasional applications were made for pensions by converted Jews, the last of them by Henry Cotigno in 1717.

The last inmate.

A large proportion of the converts from Judaism who found refuge in the House during the three hundred and fifty years of its activity came from abroad, many from Spain, where the lot of Jewry was especially fraught with trouble throughout the whole of the period. On the other hand, many of them, as has been pointed out, came from different parts of England. This fact proves definitely the existence of unconverted Jews in the country. Some were known to have lived in England as observant Jews before their conversion, and it is most improbable that not a single Jew in England during that period remained loyal to his ancestral faith. The foreign converts, it has been suggested, in many instances came to this country for the definite purpose of entering the House, but except in the case of one from Flanders, who obtained admission while still on the Continent, but who never seems to have entered the House, this can only be surmise. In fact, the view is altogether improbable, for it would have been as profitable to have adopted Christianity abroad as to have come to London for the purpose. The foreign inmates of the House were in all

English and foreign converts

probability a proportion of the Jewish wayfarers, who from time to time found themselves on these shores.

AUTHORITIES:—M. Adler, 'The Domus Conversorum' (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iv, 1903); C. Trice Martin, 'The Domus Conversorum' (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i); S. L. Lee, 'The House of Converts' (*Jewish Chronicle*, January 26, February 16, April 27, and June 15, 1883); W. J. Hardy, *A History of the Rolls House and Chapel*; D'Blossiers Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*; H. P. Stokes, *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History*.

CHAPTER XV

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S JEWISH PHYSICIAN
(1581–1650)

The English discover an interest in the Jews.

AMONG the consequences of the Reformation and the Revival of Learning in England was a new interest, both literary and popular, in Jews. From the middle of the sixteenth century repeated editions of an English translation of Joseph ben Gorion (Josippon), the pseudo-Josephus—whose history was currently believed to have been written for the Jews, that known as Josephus being intended for the Romans—were called for and eagerly read. The people newly introduced to the Bible were anxious to learn more of those to whom that literature is devoted. This popular interest in Jews was reflected by the drama of the day. As early as 1579 mention is made of a play, *The Jew*, then being performed in London, and during the succeeding generation hardly a year passed without the Jew being depicted on the English stage. The contributions of Marlowe (*c.* 1590) and Shakespeare (1596) are well known. In addition there were Jewish characters in *The Three Ladies of London*, by Robert Wilson (1584), an anonymous play entitled *Selimus, Machiavellus* (1597), *Jacke Drums' Entertainement* (1601), *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, dramatized by John Day (1607), *The Jew of Venice*, by Dekker, *The Jewish Gentleman*, by Richard Brome, and *Customs of the Country* (1622), by Beaumont and Fletcher. Miscellaneous references to Jews and Jewish customs are also to be found in many other contemporary dramas.[1] This inter-

The Jew in English drama.

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[1] Particulars of these Jewish references in the dramatic literature have been obtained from Sir Sidney Lee's *Elizabethan England and the Jews.*

est in Jewish matters was not confined to the common people. The study of Hebrew occasionally, as has been pointed out, with the assistance of Jewish teachers, was pursued at the universities, and among the students of that language were the ill-fated Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth. The latter before her accession had shown great favour to Tremellius, and on his second visit to England had endeavoured to induce him to remain in the country.

English students of Hebrew.

The sixteenth century in England saw revivals other than those of learning and religion. New energy and life were also introduced into industry, and one branch, that of mining, which had entirely fallen into disuse, was revived with the assistance of foreign skill and experience. By Henry VIII Joachim Hochstetter was invited to England to undertake the development of its mineral resources. His operations were continued for many years. In 1581 Joachim Gaunse of Prague was conducting mining operations in Cumberland, where he seems to have taken the place of Hochstetter, who had lost favour. Gaunse's success at Keswick was sufficient to induce the Government to entrust to him similar work in South Wales, where the mining industry was then being founded. For several years Gaunse was in control of operations in both districts. In 1589 he was at Bristol, and it is through his connexion with that city that his value to our story becomes apparent. According to the affidavit of Richard Curteys, minister, the latter met Gaunse there for the purpose of a 'conference in the Hebrew tongue'. In the course of the conversation Gaunse denied the divinity of Jesus. For this blasphemy Gaunse was summoned before the mayor and aldermen, to whom he declared himself to be a Jew born at Prague, who did not 'beleeve any Article of our Christian faithe for that he was not broughte uppe therein'. The case was too important for the local justices to decide, and Gaunse was sent to London to appear before the Privy Council. Of the next scene in London, however, no record exists, and it is unknown whether Gaunse was punished for his avowal of Judaism, or whether the influence of Walsingham, who was well acquainted with Gaunse's services, was exercised to secure his liberation.

A Jew develops mining in England

and is accused of heresy.

In Elizabethan England the neighbourhood of Houndsditch was still, as in the days of the Plantagenets, the foreign quarter of the capital. Aliens of all descriptions collected there, and among the inhabitants were Jews. Jews were also associated with Englishmen in the Levant trade, and among the fashionable doctors of the country, mostly foreign, were members of that race. One, Jacob, was at the request of the queen admitted to the College of Physicians in 1585, and subsequently sent by her to Russia to attend the Tzar. Another Jewish doctor, Ferdinando Lopes, as has already been mentioned, had found himself in trouble in 1550. The most interesting of all the Anglo-Jewish doctors of the period was, however, undoubtedly Roderigo Lopez.

Roderigo Lopez.

Roderigo Lopez, a Portuguese Jew, settled in England in 1559. He is said to have been captured by Drake during one of his anti-Spanish forays, and to have been brought a prisoner to England. In the practice of the profession of medicine Lopez speedily attained fame. He was the first house physician at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where a very high opinion was held of his skill and learning. Before 1569 he was a member of the College of Physicians, and in that year invited to deliver the anatomy lecture. In 1571 he was physician to Sir Francis Walsingham. Four years later he was acknowledged as one of the leading physicians of the capital, and shortly afterwards was appointed chief physician to the Earl of Leicester. Lopez maintained a correspondence with many friends and relatives on the Continent, some of whom, among them his brother Lewis Lopez, settled in London. He married Sarah Anes, whose father Dunstan Anes, otherwise Benjamin George or Gonzalvo Jorge, was one of the principal members of a Marrano community numbering at the least ninety souls then resident in London which Mr. Lucien Wolf has discovered. These Marranos were all or almost all Portuguese who had fled from the Inquisition, some with the intention of settling at Antwerp but prevented by the activities of the Spanish Government from doing so. They were for the most part men of standing in commerce and were able by their agents and compatriots in Spain and other Mediterranean countries to be of great service to the English Government, both as intelligencers and unofficial diplomatists. Dunstan Anes, who settled in England as early as 1521, was Lopez' father-in-law, a merchant of wealth, who held what would to-day be termed the Royal Warrant, and although a "stranger" was made a freeman of the Grocers Company. Another prominent member of this secret community was Hector Nunez, a physician of repute, who was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians and also of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1554. In the year 1579 he was endenizened.

Chief physician to the queen.

In 1586 Lopez was appointed chief physician to the queen, who three years later granted him the monopoly of the importation of aniseed and sumach. At court Lopez became acquainted with the leading statesmen and courtiers of the day. The death of Leicester had elevated the Earl of Essex to the position of chief favourite of the queen, and with Essex Lopez became intimate. The ambitious young favourite, not content with his success as a courtier, was anxious also to shine as a statesman. In order to give his talents in this direction opportunity for display, he thought it advisable to obtain a private supply of secret information, especially with regard to Spanish affairs. For this purpose, Lopez and his continental agents must have appeared extremely useful, and Essex accordingly applied to him for assistance. Lopez was, however, unwilling to take any part in the business, and disclosed Essex's communications to the queen, much to that nobleman's chagrin. In another matter, however, Essex found Lopez more amenable. Essex, whose policy was to fan the flame of English hostility to Spain, received with an enthusiastic welcome Don Antonio, pretender to the throne of Portugal, and a fugitive from Spanish persecution. Antonio became the popular idol, but as he was unacquainted with any language but Portuguese, his stay in England would have been attended by serious discomfort if Lopez had not consented to act as interpreter. For a time Lopez became very closely connected with the households of Essex and Antonio. Disputes, however, arose between them, and the atmosphere was not cleared by a disclosure on the part of Lopez to Antonio and others, of some professional secrets concerning Essex 'which did disparage to his honour'. Of Antonio's attendants, who also were dissatisfied with their master's behaviour, many were very friendly with Lopez, even staying at his house. These had been approached by emissaries of the king of Spain with inducements to get rid of Antonio, who was still a claimant to the kingdom of which Philip had taken possession. The plot was disclosed to Lopez, who seems to have entered into it so far as to state that Antonio would not recover from his next illness. This was the most important piece of evidence incriminating Lopez that was elicited at the subsequent trial. At the same time a suggestion was made that the death of Elizabeth would also cause considerable pleasure to the Spanish king. This suggestion Lopez refused altogether to entertain, and although he did not directly communicate it to the queen or her advisers, Lopez let hints of the movement drop in Elizabeth's presence.

Lopez accused of high treason.

Meanwhile the conspiracy was discovered by the Council through the instrumentality of Essex. Two of Antonio's attendants, one of them staying at the time with Lopez, were arrested. From them the physician's connexion with the plot was learnt, and he also was committed to the Tower. Essex, anxious to implicate him personally searched his papers, but with no satisfactory results, and on his failure to find any incriminating documents, he was reprimanded by the queen as a 'rash and temerarious youth to enter into a matter against the poor man which he could not prove'. This reproof made Essex all the more eager to involve Lopez in the charge of treason. That which the search failed to secure was obtained with difficulty by the threat of torture. To save himself immediate suffering, the old man made some sort of confession, afterwards withdrawn. The trial was held without delay. A special bench was appointed in place of the ordinary judges. Essex himself presided, and his colleagues were equally prejudiced against 'the Jew', as he was frequently described during the proceedings. Charges of Spanish machination were always pleasing to the populace, who were thus both politically and religiously prejudiced against the prisoner. The prose-

Trial of Lopez.

cution was led by Coke, then Solicitor-General, who referred to the accused as 'that vile Jew', 'wily and covetous', 'mercenary', 'corrupt', &c. As a matter of course Lopez was found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged and drawn.

Before this sentence could be carried out, however, an unexpected difficulty arose. For months the queen could not be induced to sign the death-warrant. Very probably she felt grave doubt concerning the justice of the whole proceedings. In the meanwhile one of Essex's partisans was appointed Chief Justice, and by his persuasion the signature was given. Lopez was hanged at Tyburn on the 7th of June 1594. The whole affair created so much excitement that no less than five official accounts, one by Bacon, then in the service of Essex, in addition to numerous private ones, were published. Although Elizabeth had at length been induced to consent to the execution, she did not claim her right to the condemned man's property. With the exception of a ring, said to have been given to Lopez by the king of Spain, which Elizabeth wore until her death, she allowed the widow to retain the whole of her husband's estate.

His fate.

Further evidence of the existence of Jews in London during the sixteenth century is afforded by Thomas Coryat, who, when in Constantinople in 1612, visited 'the house of a certaine English Iewe called Amis,[1] borne in the Crootched Friars in London, who hath two sisters more of his owne Iewish Religion, commorant in Galata, who were likewise borne in the same place'.

Jews and geographical discovery.

There is one other item of Jewish interest before the reign of Elizabeth is brought to a close. In the series of geographical discoveries by which the sixteenth century is marked, Jews took a not inconsiderable part. A Jew, Jehuda Cresques, was the director of Prince Henry the Navigator's School of Navigation at Sagres. Another, Abraham Zacuto, compiled the astronomical tables that were constantly used by Columbus, and by means of which, on one occasion, the life of the navigator was saved. Columbus also on his first voyage to America had a Jew as his interpreter. The money that enabled him to make his first voyage was lent by a Jew, Luis de Santangel. His map was drawn by Ribes, the 'Map Jew'; his ship's doctor was Bernal, also a Jew; his superintendent, Rodrigo Sanchez the Jew. The Jewish sailor Rodrigo de Triana was the first to see land, and the interpreter, Luis de Torres, the first to set foot on shore. Vasco da Gama owed much to Zacuto, as well as to his Jewish pilot, Gaspar da Gama. More than one Jewish interpreter was of service to D'Albuquerque. English seamen and explorers relied to a less extent on Jewish assistance. In the first voyage of the East India Company in 1601, however, a Jew acted as interpreter. Captain James Lancaster, who was in charge, had as his servant a Moroccan Jew who had been brought a prisoner to England. His knowledge of Arabic, it was thought, would prove of service in negotiations with the ruler of Achin, to whom the expedition was sent. In the sequel this view proved correct, and the Jewish interpreter succeeded in negotiating a treaty satisfactory both to the English and to the Sultan.

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[1] The correct name was Anes, as Mr. Lucien Wolf has pointed out. He was a son of Dunstan Anes.

The East India Company.

The question of the conversion of the Jews began to agitate the minds of English thinkers early in the reign of Elizabeth, and among other books on the subject was one by Finch, the lawyer, which, on account of its Judaical tendencies, caused the imprisonment of its author by the Court of High Commission. At this time the commerce of Spain was almost entirely in the hands of Marranos,[1] and business relations with England attracted many secret Jews to these shores. It is a curious fact that the charter and list of freemen of the Anglo-Spanish Trading Company in London, dated 1605, has its pages numbered with Hebrew characters. In the lists of foreigners resident in London at the beginning of the seventeenth century such names as Da Costa, Lopez, Alvarez, Mendez, Meza, Casseres, afterwards well known in Anglo-Jewish annals, con-

Intercourse with Marranos.

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[1] A term applied to the Crypto-Jews of Spain and Portugal, who, while outwardly conforming to Christianity, in secret continued the practices of Judaism. These Marranos were not always themselves converts from Christianity; they were often the children or even more remote descendants of baptized Jews.

tinually recur. It was not until 1618 that the English version of the *Statutum de Pistoribus* contained the clause prohibiting Christians from buying meat of Jews, and from this it has been deduced that about that time the presence of Jews in the country became generally known. A few years later it is stated in a tract, *The Wandering Jew Telling Fortunes to Englishmen*, that 'A Store of Jews we have in England; a few in Court; many i' the citty; more in the country'. It is also noteworthy that the author did not hesitate to claim Judaism openly, the better to succeed in his profession of fortune-teller. A somewhat similar incident some years later was the pretended adoption of Judaism by a Jesuit, in order that by being baptized he might obtain the public sympathy necessary to him in the furtherance of his designs. Outside of London it is in the university towns that traces of Jews are to be found at this period. In 1608 Jacob Barnett was teaching Hebrew at Oxford, where he became acquainted with Casaubon, who was among his pupils. Developing a friendship for the young Jew, Casaubon induced Barnett to live in his house in London. After a time Barnett seemed to show a tendency towards Christianity, and Casaubon, hoping for his conversion, sent him back to Oxford. There, after a further interval, Barnett consented to accept baptism, and great preparations, in which the archbishop and the king were interested were made, for the public acceptance of Christianity by the proselyte. The conversion and the arrangements became a principal topic of conversation, and as the appointed day drew nigh the excitement increased. All was ready, the special preacher appointed and the sermon prepared, but the intended convert could not be found. All search within the city proved in vain, and the intended participants in the event had to disperse unsatisfied. Enraged at their disappointment, the university authorities sent messengers in all directions to seek the fugitive. Barnett was overtaken on the way to London, and brought back to Oxford. There he was imprisoned, but on the intervention of Casaubon, released and expelled the university. He was subsequently, by order of the Privy Council, expelled the kingdom.

Jewish scholars in England.

Casaubon and Barnett.

Converts to Judaism.

The conversions, or attempted conversions, were not all, however, in favour of Christianity. In 1624 James Whitehall of Christ Church, Oxford, was prosecuted for preaching Judaism. About the same time several English converts to Judaism were living in Holland, and in 1635 a woman, described as a Jewess, was imprisoned by the Court of High Commission for adhering to Jewish customs, and refusing to eat meat not killed in the Jewish fashion. On the other hand, in 1623 Paul Jacob, a converted Jew, petitioned the king for a pension, and two years later Charles I granted an allowance of forty pounds a year to a Jew at Cambridge, presumably on conversion.

Attempts by Spain to prosecute Jews in the English courts.

In 1614 and 1615 two attempts were made by the Spanish ambassador to prosecute Jews in the English courts. The first was a charge of piracy against Samuel Palache, the envoy of the Sultan of Morocco to the States General, who had brought three prizes into Plymouth. His successful defence was that he was a Moroccan subject and in the service of the Sultan, then at war with Spain. In the second case the ambassador attempted, also without success, to obtain the assistance of the Privy Council in proceedings against a Jew regarding a cargo of sugar. In 1620 David Sollom, a 'Jewish Merchant', bought an estate in Meath, Ireland. Shortly afterwards Antonio de Verona was at both universities, and for the earlier portion of his visit at any rate was a professing Jew. He was described by Queen Henrietta Maria as in her service. Somewhat later another Jew, Alessandro Amidei, taught Hebrew at Oxford. In 1627 Charles I borrowed several sums from Abraham Jacob, and at a subsequent date 20,000 ducats from a Jew of Amsterdam. Finally, in 1650 another Jew, Jacob, opened a coffee-house at Oxford, the introduction of the beverage into the country being attributed to him.

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CHAPTER XVI

ENGLISH ELEMENTS IN THE RE-SETTLEMENT

(1630–1649)

Changes in England since the Expulsion.

MEANWHILE the economical and intellectual condition of the country had changed considerably since the time of the Plantagenets and the Expulsion. The Renaissance and the Reformation, twin-workers in intellectual emancipation, had combined to awaken the minds and the souls of the people. The old beliefs in both the religious and political spheres had undergone re-examination, and the readjustments that had in consequence been found necessary had altered the political and religious systems of the country almost beyond recognition. With the religious and political awakening had also come industrial and commercial developments. At the time of the Expulsion England was a pastoral country. The average Englishman devoted himself to the care of flocks and herds, and their surplus produce, after providing for his own personal needs, was sent to the Continent to be turned into manufactured goods. In the era of the Commonwealth, however, agriculture and stock-raising were no longer the sole occupations of the people. The sailors of Elizabeth had forced introductions to other climes, and England, taking advantage of her unique situation, was hastening towards the position of clearing-house of the commerce of the world. To other points of the industrial world, also, attention was directed. The nether-world was pierced and forced to surrender its secret hoards. It was at this period that mining found its inception, and in this branch of industry, as has already been shown, the Jew was not wanting. In other industrial departments of English life isolated Jew salso took part. In that of public life, however, none of them could as yet have place. Under the old political and religious systems, as they developed, no room could yet be found for the Jews. But great changes were taking place, and the anti-Jewish aspects of the systems were passing.

Jews under the Feudal System.

Under the Feudal System Jews had been tolerated in the country, but their position had always been anomalous. Neither tenants of the crown nor of the tenants-in-chief, nor exactly villeins, not citizens, not clerics, under the Normans and the Plantagenets the position of the Jews resembled that of the villeins more than of any other class. But with the passing of the Feudal System the status of villenage had also gone.

The Reformation, although it unsettled the religious foundations of the State, did not, in its legal consequences, immediately render Nonconformity easier. From the opening of the fifteenth century two series of legislative enactments directed against critics of and seceders from the national Church were gradually adopted. All would-be propagators of any faith but the official one were liable to severe penalties under the Heresy Acts. Mere passive Dissenters, on the other hand, those who were satisfied to abstain from attendance at divine service, were aimed at by the Uniformity legislation.

Legislation against heresy.

By the laws of the Church heresy had always been an offence meriting the severest punishment. The ecclesiastical party, whenever it had the power, did not hesitate to punish heretics with death, and clerics claimed that the Common Law of England provided the punishment of burning for heretics. In 1222, as has already been noticed, a deacon was burnt for embracing Judaism. The punishment was carried out by the civil power, to which the deacon, after having been degraded, was handed by the Church, and there were other similar instances of punishment for heresy.

The Statute *de Haeretico*

In 1401 the Statute Law came to the reinforcement of the Common Law. By the Statute *de Haeretico* of that year it was enacted that none 'presume to preach openly or privily without the license of the Diocesan . . . that none from henceforth any Thing preach, hold, teach or instruct openly or privily, or make or write any Book contrary to the Catholic Faith or Determination of the Holy Church, nor of such Sect or wicked Doctrines or Opinions shall make any Conventicles, or in any wise hold or exercise Schools; and also that none from henceforth in any wise favour such Preacher, or Maker of any such or like Conventicles, or holding or exercising schools, or making or writing such Books, or so teaching, informing or exciting the People, nor any of them maintain or otherwise sustain; and that all and singular having such books or any Writings of such wicked Doctrine and Opinions, shall really with effect deliver or cause to be delivered all such Books and Writings to the Diocesan of the same Place within XL Days from the Time of the Proclamation of this Ordinance and Statute'. Persons guilty of offences under the Statute were to be punished by the ecclesiastical power. If they refused to abjure their erroneous doctrines, or after abjuration relapsed into their former heresies, they were to be handed over to the civil power and publicly burnt. This Act was especially directed against the Lollards.

The Lollards

Thirteen years after the enactment *De Haeretico Comburendo,* the laws against heretics were further strengthened. The chancellor, judges, and others were sworn to make every effort to discover all heresy and to uproot it, and specially to assist in the arrest of Lollards and other heretics. The Statute further decreed the forfeiture of the property of persons convicted of heresy. Since the cognizance of heresy belonged to the spiritual judges, those charged with the offence were to be tried by them. Alterations in the law took place under Henry VIII and Edward VI, but there was no relaxation in its severity; while under Mary the lot of the critic of the Church as by law established became even harsher. A predecessor of Henry VIII's—Edward V—had repealed all previous legislation on the subject, and thus for a brief period no anti-heresy enactments appeared on the statute book.

In the first year of Elizabeth's reign the heresy legislation of Mary as well as all previous legislation still in force was repealed. At the same time what should not be considered

Heresy defined.

heresy was laid down. Heretics were, however, *still* occasionally burnt, and one suffered this punishment, so late as 1612, for holding beliefs to which every professing Jew would subscribe without hesitation.[1]

In 1640 the Court of High Commission was abolished; and although heresy remained an offence, there was no longer any penalty available beyond a purely ecclesiastical one. By such, Jews would, of course, be unaffected.

The Uniformity legislation.

The Uniformity legislation commences at a date much later than the first of the Heresy Acts. Before the Reformation such legislation was quite unknown, and its object when once it came into existence was as much to compel attendance at church as to create uniformity in church services. It is from the former aspect that this legislation is of immediate interest. The Act of Uniformity of the first year of Elizabeth's reign enacted that all persons should diligently and faithfully attend church unless they absented themselves for reasonable excuse. Otherwise every absentee was liable to suffer spiritual censure and be fined. In 1580 an additional penalty of £20 a month for failing to attend church was enacted, and by legislation of six years later the property of the recusant, with the exception of a third of his lands, was forfeited in the case of future convictions.

In 1592 still more stringent steps were taken. All persons above sixteen years old, who should obstinately refuse to attend divine service according to law, and should persuade others to dispute the Queen's authority in ecclesiastical cases, &c., or should attend unlawful conventicles, were to be imprisoned until willing to conform and submit. Those who refused to do so within three months were to leave the country. On refusing to depart, or on returning after having once left, they were to be deemed felons without benefit of clergy.

Popish Recusants.

The opening of the following reign saw further legislation of a similar tendency. The Act of 1606 was specially directed against Popish recusants. Among other enactments it laid down that any person indicted of recusancy, or who had not taken the sacrament within the year, might be compelled to take the oath of Allegiance. This oath, then newly adopted, included the form of words 'upon the true faith of a Christian'. With the omission of this phrase the oath would have been quite unobjectionable to any Jew. It, however, introduced a phrase that proved for centuries a bar to Jewish emancipation, for although the Act of 1606 was repealed by the Bill of Rights in 1688, the objectionable form of oath survived to be the centre of the struggle for Jewish emancipation during the first half of the nineteenth century.[1]

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[1] 2 *State Trials*, p. 729. See also H. S. Q. Henriques, *The Return of the Jews to England.*

Spanish subjects exempted from the Recusancy Laws.

A breach was made in this high wall of anti-Nonconformist legislation in 1630, when in a treaty with Spain a clause was inserted exempting all Spanish subjects from the Recusancy Laws. By this clause Jews were directly affected. From the combination of all these political, social, religious, industrial, and legal changes, it resulted that a Jewish settlement would no longer interfere with the English scheme of government or life. England seemed ready to receive the Jews so long as their return would do no violence to established institutions.

Nonconformist sects.

England, however, required the scourge of the Civil War before the last vestiges of the old system could be finally cleared away. The principle of toleration of Nonconformity could only be officially accepted after its advocates had won it on the battlefield. And with the victory of Puritanism and its ideals came the growth of innumerable Protestant sects with strange doctrines and peculiar beliefs. Yet the very diversity of these sects—which in many cases being so insignificant in numbers had necessarily to be tolerant of other opinions—formed in itself an element in the campaign for the Return. Many of these sects were silent agents. Others, however, placed religious toleration, even of Jews, among their declared teachings. The Old Testament and its Hebraism were taking possession of the minds of the people. The Hebrew Scriptures were studied and expounded with increasing intensity. A desire to see God's chosen people in the flesh found frequent

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[1] The references to the various statutes affecting heresy and uniformity are given by Henriques in his *Return of the Jews to England*, and also appear in Renton's *Encyclopedia of the Laws of England*.

The Puritan and the Hebrew spirit.

expression. The Hebrew spirit spread to such an extent among the extreme Republicans that it was even suggested in 1649 that the Lord's Day should be altered from the first to the seventh day of the week. The work that contained the proposal was, however, declared heretical, scandalous and profane. It was ordered to be burnt, and the author and printer were punished. Barebone's Parliament suggested seventy as the number of the Council of State, in imitation of the Sanhedrin. Hebrew personal names were adopted in place of the English ones received at baptism. Biblical idioms were used in ordinary conversation. The 'Levellers' even called themselves 'Jews', while denouncing their opponents as 'Amalekites', and the government of the Stuarts was termed 'the Egyptian Bondage'. 'The Lion of Judah' was inscribed on the banners of the victorious Puritans, and the pass-word 'The Lord of Hosts' taken and given. Some advocated the adoption in England of the Levitical legislation. Others even went to the extreme of travelling to the Continent in order to be received into the fold of Judaism.

Fifth Monarchy men.

The Fifth Monarchy men—millenarian extremists—believed that Cromwell's government was the fifth empire that betokened the millennium. Their views were by a coincidence in agreement with those of the Jewish Cabbalists to whom the Messianic year, foretold in the *Zohar*, appeared almost in sight. These Fifth Monarchy and Cabbalistic beliefs, mingling and giving one another mutual support, were fed by the strange and exaggerated stories, that found their way from the Levant by various indirect means, of the earlier exploits of the notorious pseudo-Messiah, Sabbathai Zevi, who a few years later flashed like a meteor across the page of Jewish history.

Conversionist influences.

Another element in the not unfriendly attitude of a large portion of the English nation was the desire for the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. The millennium, it was thought by one party, tarried only until this conversion was effected, and so long as Jews were excluded from the country they must perforce continue the error of their ways. Thus even the opponents of Judaism and its would-be eradicators joined with more tolerant elements in their advocacy of the Re-Settlement.

It was one of these, Sir E. Spencer, who at a later date, in reply to Menasseh ben Israel's address to Parliament, proposed the admission of the Jews, in order that they might be available for conversion, on the following conditions: 1. Circumcision should be abandoned. 2. Conversion should not be forced, but reversion to Judaism severely punished. 3. Two-thirds of the estates of professing Jews dying in the country should be confiscated. 4. Attendance at conversion sermons on Good Fridays should be compulsory. 5. Double custom duties should be paid by professing Jews. 6. Jews should enjoy freedom of movement and trade in the country, but they should be excluded from guilds and corporations and be obliged to maintain their own poor. 7. Marriage with Christians should be prohibited. 8. The election of their own king or combination with the Levellers or Anabaptists for a similar purpose, should be made a capital offence. The clerics did not tarry behind the laymen in the advancement of this portion of the argument, and from hundreds of pulpits was preached the Christian duty of admitting the Jews into England so that they might be brought to see the truth.

The pamphleteers.

Accompanying, and to some extent in consequence of the activity and multiplication of these sects, was the activity of the pamphleteers. At an epoch at which events, both interesting to the observer and of deep consequence to his welfare, followed one another in quick succession, there was always a large public ready to read of current occurrences and living controversies. The age of the newspaper was at its very opening, and the pamphlet for the time occupied to some extent the place it was afterwards to fill. The Jewish Question, no less than the other questions of the day, failed not to attract the attention of the pamphleteer, and among the elements that prepared the ground for the Re-Settlement of the Jews in England, the pamphlets and their writers occupy no mean place. The first published advocacy of Jewish claims was the Brownist, Leonard Busher's *Religious Peace,* which pointed out that by the exclusion of the Jews their conversion was prevented. Seven years later, in 1621, Sergeant Finch published anonymously *The Calling of the Jewes,* with a prefatory epistle in Hebrew, wherein on the one hand he invited the Jews to reassert their national independence in Palestine, and on the other called upon all Christian princes to do homage to the Jewish nation. Roger Williams (1604–83), the colonist, in his *Bloody Tenent*, published in 1644, pointed out that Jews, even though heretics, might make good citizens, and in subsequent pamphlets he put forward similar arguments. In 1646, Leonard Busher's *Religious Peace* was reissued. The same side was taken by the Independent divine, military historian and chaplain to the Council of State, Hugh Peters (1598–1660), afterwards executed for his complicity in the execution of Charles I, in *A Word for the Army, and Two Words to the Kingdom* (1647). Edward Nicholas[1] wrote *An Apology for the honourable Nation of Jews, and all the Sons of Israel*, in which he said that the then troubles of the country were directly due to England's former treatment of God's chosen people. John Sadler, the Hebraist, politician and master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, boldly championed the cause of the Jews in his *Rights of the Kingdom* (1649). In 1652 William Butler, afterwards one of the Major-Generals, in his criticism of John Owen's scheme for a religious settlement, concluded by asking whether it was not 'the duty of magistrates to permit the Jews, whose conversion we look for, to live freely and peacefully amongst us'. In the same year Captain Norwood, in his *Proposals for Propagation of the Gospel*, asked for the readmission of the Jews, and in a sympathetic account of a visit by a sailor to a synagogue at Leghorn, the writer asks, 'Shall they (the Jews) be tolerated by the Pope, and by the Duke of Florence, by the Turks, by the Barbarians and others, and shall England still have laws in force against them? When shall they be recalled?' On the same side were ranged John Dury (1596–1680), the Protestant divine, advocate of Protestant reunion, and writer; the Baptist divine, Henry Jessey (1601–

Christian advocates of the Jewish cause.

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[1] This Edward Nicholas has not been identified. He was once thought to have been the same as Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary to Charles I. Another view is that he was a disguised Marrano, and it has even been stated that 'Edward Nicholas' was but a pseudonym for Menasseh ben Israel. See Israel Solomons in the *Jewish Chronicle*, February 9, 1906.

63), who later distinguished himself by collecting a considerable amount of money for the benefit of impoverished Jews settled in Jerusalem; and Thomas Fuller (1608–61), the author of *The Holy and the Profane State, A Pisgah Sight of Palestine*, &c.

The economic argument for the Return.

So far the religious and sentimental aspects. At the same time arguments of a different description, but pointing towards the same goal, were influencing another section of the population. The commercial aptitude of the Jews was singled out for attention, and it was argued that from that point of view as well as on account of the introduction of capital, the introduction of a Jewish element into the population was especially desirable. Another part of the same campaign was the prevailing fashion to consider the policy of the Stuarts unsatisfactory in every detail, and the question was often asked whether the exclusion of the Jews should be made an exception to the general rule. Was it not the business of the Commonwealth to break with all the traditions of the past?

The first definite step.

In the midst of these discussions and academic arguments, the first definite steps for the readmission of the Jews to England were taken. With the success of the Independents in December 1648, the hopes of the advocates of religious freedom appeared to be on the point of realization, and the Jewish Question immediately became one of practical politics. Close upon the *coup d'état* of Pride's Purge came a meeting of the Council of Mechanics at Whitehall, whereat 'a toleration of all religions whatsoever, not excepting Turkes, nor Papists, nor Jewes', was voted. The Council of Army Officers in reply voted a resolution, in which the widest scheme of religious liberty was favoured. The following month (January 1649) a formal petition for the readmission of the Jews was presented to Lord Fairfax and the General Council of War by Johanna Cartwright and her son Ebenezer, two Puritans settled at Amsterdam. After a brief recital of the sufferings endured by the Jews in England before their Expulsion in 1290, and a statement of the belief that the time of the conclusion of Israel's wanderings and sufferings was drawing nigh—in the consequent settlement the hope was expressed that England and Holland would take a leading part—the petition proceeded

The Petition of the Cartwrights.

to pray for the repeal of the statute banishing the Jews from England and for their readmission into the kingdom, with freedom of trade and residence. The petition was favourably received, 'with a promise to take it into speedy consideration when the present more publick affairs are despatched'. Unfortunately for the petitioners and the Jews these 'publick affairs', which included the execution of Charles and the settlement of the State, occupied the whole of the energies of the Government for a long period, and the petition of the Cartwrights bore no practical fruit. So favourably disposed, however, were those in power to the prayer of the petitioners that the repeal of the supposed anti-Jewish legislation was accepted as an indisputable fact by the exiled Royalists, and the Presbyterian opposition at home was also so convinced of the admission of the Jews by Cromwell's Government, that in one of the political publications of the time, *The last damnable Designe of Cromwell and Ireton and their Junto or Caball*, it is recorded that 'their real designe is to plunder and disarme the City of London and all the country round about . . . and to sell it (the plunder) in bulk to the Jews, whom they have lately admitted to set up their banks and magazines of Trade amongst us contrary to an Act of Parliament for their banishment'.

Its favourable reception.

Public impression as to Cromwell's philo-Jewish intentions.

AUTHORITIES:—Lucien Wolf, *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell* (1901), *The Re-Settlement of the Jews in England* (1888); H. S. Q. Henriques, *The Return of the Jews to England* (1905); S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, vols. ii and iv (1903); C. H. Firth, 'Some Historical Notes, 1648–1680' (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iv, 1903); *Original Letters and Papers of State addressed to Oliver Cromwell*, published by John Nickolls, Junior (1743); F. W. Maitland, 'Apostasy at Common Law' (*Law Quarterly Review*, vol. ii, 1886); E. S. of Middlesex (Sir E. K. Spencer), *An Epistle to the learned Mana se ben Israel* (1650); *Dictionary of National Biography*; *Encyclopedia of the Laws of England*, articles 'Heresy' and 'Uniformity'; 'Statutes of the Realm'.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CRYPTO-JEWS

(1643–1655)

A secret Jewish immigration.

CONTEMPORANEOUSLY with this phase of English thought, and with this education in Semitism that the English people was undergoing, the small number of Jewish settlers already in the country was gradually increasing. The year 1643 saw a special influx, due to the financial exigencies of the Parliamentary Government. The new-comers came from Amsterdam, and doubtless immediately joined the little Sephardi[1] colony already settled in the capital. Moreover, it happens that at the same time the Portuguese ambassador in London, Antonio de Souza, was himself a Marrano or Crypto-Jew, and it was in the chapel of his embassy that the small colony of Spanish and Portuguese merchants used to assemble weekly, nominally to hear mass, in reality, however, to join in divine service in accordance with Jewish rites.

Antonio Fernandez Carvajal.

Of this colony of Crypto-Jews the first in importance was Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, known in the community as Abraham Israel Carvajal. Carvajal was born towards the close of the sixteenth century either in Portugal, at Fundão, a great centre of Marranoism of considerable commercial consequence, or in the Canaries. At any rate, it is certain he spent his earliest years at Fundão. The oppression of the Inquisition wrought sad havoc with the prosperity of that centre, and it was doubtless in consequence of fear of that instrument of religion that Carvajal, in common with many other fellow-Marranos, left Fundão. The exile settled first in the Canary Islands, where he acquired some property. For

Carvajal's career.

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[1] Jews of Spanish or Portuguese origin.

commercial purposes Carvajal removed to London between 1630 and 1635. He married a daughter of Antonio de Souza, the afore-mentioned Portuguese ambassador, and speedily attained a prominent position among the English merchants. A number of relatives came over from Spain and Portugal to assist in the conduct of the great business that was being built up. Carvajal's ships traded with countries as distant as the East and West Indies, South America, and Syria, and he had representatives in all the important commercial centres of Europe. The bullion he imported into England was valued at one-twelfth of the national income. Among his fellow-merchants, although an alien and a successful competitor, Carvajal was popular. He pretended to be a Papist, but was suspected of being a Jew. Yet, when in 1645 Carvajal was denounced by an informer for transgressing the Act of Uniformity by abstaining from attendance at church, all his competitors in trade, as well as many other prominent merchants, petitioned Parliament to protect him. This was promptly done. The informer was summoned before the House of Lords, and the proceedings quashed.

Endenization of Carvajal.

Meanwhile Carvajal continued to prosper. In 1649 he was one of the five merchants entrusted by the Council of State with the army contract for corn; and the following year, on the outbreak of war with Portugal, his goods and ships were specially exempted from seizure by a warrant from the same body. In July 1655 he and his two sons, who had probably been born in England, were endenizened. This adoption of English nationality, however, somewhat endangered Carvajal's fortune, for the outbreak of war with Spain shortly afterwards found a large accumulation of Carvajal's property at the Canaries in considerable risk of seizure by the enemy. The difficulty was overcome with the assistance of English men-of-war, and the property removed to a position of greater security. The great favour that Cromwell's government displayed towards Carvajal was in acknowledgment of his and his agents' services in obtaining early and reliable intelligence of decisions and events on the Continent likely to be of use to the English Government. Carvajal's character seems to have partaken

Carvajal's services to the English Government.

more of the Spaniard than of the Jew. For instance, being involved at a later date in disputes with the English Customs authorities, he collected his friends, broke open the Government warehouses, seized the surveyor, confined him on board one of his vessels, and recovered his merchandise. This action was being inquired into by a commission, under Richard Cromwell's chairmanship, at the time of Carvajal's death in 1659.

Simon de Caceres.

The second most important member of the little community was Simon (Jacob) de Caceres, who combined militant Judaism with commerce. He was born in Amsterdam, but had travelled in many parts, and had business connexions with Hamburg, the West Indies, and South America. An enthusiastic Jew, he made it his business to go among the Spanish and Portuguese merchants and obtain confidential admissions of Judaism from them. Both Queen Christina of Sweden and the King of Denmark on occasions used their influence on his behalf. De Caceres was of especial assistance to Cromwell in the settlement of the newly-acquired colony of Jamaica, and at a later date submitted to the Protector a scheme for the conquest of Chile, De Caceres offering to command the expedition in person and to raise a force of Jews for the purpose. Henrique Jorge Mendes, or Henrique Mendes da Costa was also a rich merchant and connected with a famous banking-house, trading in Lisbon and Antwerp. The family to which he belonged was one of the most prominent among the Sephardim. Mendes returned to Antwerp in 1655.

Other merchant princes.

Antonio Rodriques Peremena de Rebello or Robles was also a native of Fundão, whence he too had been driven by the Inquisition, after having seen his father burnt at the stake, and his mother crippled on the rack. At first he settled in the Canaries where he became deputy-treasurer, but was once more compelled, by fear of the Inquisition, to emigrate, and removed to London, where he arrived about 1640. A business competitor of his in London was Augustin Coronel Chacon, formerly an agent of Carvajal's in Lisbon. Chacon was born in Portugal, but removed to Bordeaux and Rouen, and afterwards to England. There he acted as a Royalist agent, and as such his services were rewarded after the Restoration with knighthood, subsequent, however, to baptism. Coronel acted as consular agent in London for Portugal, and was the first to suggest the marriage of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza. Later in life Coronel fell into financial straits, and died on the Continent, a pensioner of his rich Jewish relatives.[1] Domingo Vaes (Abraham Israel) de Brito, Abraham Coen Gonzales, Isaac Lopes Chillon, Domingo (Israel Roiz) Francia, Antonio (Abraham) de Porto, Simon de Souza, Duarte Henriques Alvares, who had been royal treasurer in the Canary Islands, Diego Rodrigues Aries, Domingo de la Cerda, Lourenco Rodriques Lindo, the ancestor of the well-known Anglo-Jewish family of Lindo, and David da Costa, were all merchants and Crypto-Jews settled in London.

The secret Jewish community.

These and others, together with their wives and children, formed in 1655 a community of about 200 souls. With hardly an, if any, exception, they belonged to the Sephardi branch of Jewry.

Their occupations.

They were all prosperous merchants, many of those mentioned being very wealthy. Their commercial activities extended to all parts of the known world, and some of them possessed estates in the Canaries, the Brazils, and other parts. They dealt in almost every variety of merchandise, and imported a large amount of bullion from Spain and Portugal. All the members of the colony dwelt in proximity to one another in the eastern part of the city, a neighbourhood that had long been the foreign quarter of London, in which heretics, papists, apostates from Christianity, and even converts to Judaism, were to be found. Francia lived in Leadenhall Street; Aries in Fenchurch Street; De Porto in St. Mary Axe. A little farther east, in Duke Place, Coronel Chacon, Duarte Alvares, and Antonio Robles had settled.

The earliest synagogue.

The members of this little community, subsequent and perhaps at the same time as the attendances in the chapel of the Portuguese embassy, were accustomed to meet together on the usual occasions for divine service according to the Jewish rites, in a synagogue in Cree Church Lane, Leadenhall Street.[2] Moses

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[1] He seems to have reverted to Judaism when misfortunes overtook him.

[2] The building was formally opened as a synagogue at the beginning of 1657, the lease being acquired from the parish authorities.

Israel Athias, who was a relative of Carvajal, and had come to England in 1656 from Hamburg, where he was an official of the synagogue, was the rabbi of the little congregation. The synagogue in Cree Church Lane was, however, not the only one to be found in the Metropolis, while its Jewish inhabitants were still living there in disguise. There was at least one other house of worship in St. Helens, of which David Mier was 'priest', but to neither can more than the barest references be found. Of the history of these two places of worship and of any other similar ones that may have existed at the time, nothing is now known. Portuguese Jews were living in Dublin before 1662 and were prospering there. They are believed to have settled on Cromwell's invitation. Their synagogue was in Crane Lane.

Cromwell and the Jews.

The exceptional favour shown to these Jews by Cromwell, the connivance at the breach of law effected by their unauthorized services and abstention from church, were not due merely to pro-Jewish sympathy. Cromwell was, for the age in which he lived, extremely liberal-minded and superior to the petty prejudices that influenced his less enlightened associates and fellow-reformers. To him the libels and superstitions of the Jew-haters had little force, and personally he had no objection to the free movement of Jews in the country. Cromwell had, however, two very positive reasons for favouring an unrestricted Jewish settlement. The keystone of his policy was the welfare of the English nation. His object was to make of England a great nation, prosperous and free. To achieve this object he knew that commercial expansion and success were necessary, and to attain these he hoped to have the co-operation of great Jewish merchants by encouraging them to settle on English soil. Cromwell was by no means unacquainted with the resources and wide activities of the rich Sephardi Jews of the Continent. The Spanish and Portuguese trade was in their hands; the Levant trade also to a considerable extent. Jews had helped to found the Hamburg Bank, and were closely connected with the Dutch East and West India Companies. As bullion merchants also, Jews were prominent, and many of them owned fleets of merchantmen.

Reasons for Cromwell's favour.

Jewish services to the English Government.

The second reason for Cromwell's favour was the great assistance these Crypto-Jews of London and their agents on the Continent were to the Government of the Commonwealth, and, when employing them on secret service, he was well aware of their true faith. In fact he stated definitely in a letter that 'the State, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions; if they be willing faithfully to serve it—that satisfies'. If he had believed them to have been papists, it is certain that Cromwell would have had nothing to do with them. His dislike of the Catholic Church was one of the few prejudices Cromwell possessed or that possessed him.

Cromwell's Jewish Intelligencers.

It has already been noticed that the rich London Jews acted as contractors to the Government, supplying it with both money and stores. De Caceres, we have also seen, was called upon by the Government for advice in the settlement of American affairs. In another and more secret capacity Carvajal was of equal if not greater service to Cromwell's Government. In his army of continental agents and correspondents, Carvajal possessed the machinery for obtaining early and reliable information concerning designs and movements on the part of foreign powers and the exiled Stuart. This invaluable machinery the Jewish merchant placed at the disposal of the Government under whose protection he dwelt, with the result that Cromwell was often enabled to forestall hostile designs and to confound the plans of the enemies of the Commonwealth. It was through the intelligence furnished by Carvajal that at least one of the numerous conspiracies against the life of the Protector was detected. From one of Carvajal's continental agents came the first news of the secret treaty between Charles and Spain, and it is most probable that it was information from a kindred source which enabled the forces of the Commonwealth to seize the Royalist shipping at Ostend and thereby prevent a renewal of the Civil War.

Advantages to England of Cromwell's toleration.

Cromwell's action in favouring a Jewish settlement was well justified by the immediate results. The commercial benefit to the nation by the acquisition of those Marrano merchants could admit of no doubt. They made their new home the centre of a world-wide commerce. The first Jewish settlers brought with them capital in ready money of one and a half million pounds, and this at a time when one of the special troubles of the country was a scarcity of coin. Their annual turnover in trade equalled a twelfth of the total commerce of the country.

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CHAPTER XVIII

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL

(1648–1654)

The English Colonies.

OF the many threads that, leading from various directions, ultimately combined to secure the Re-Settlement of the Jews in England, there are still one or two that deserve mention. The Stuart policy of placing the alternatives of emigration, or conformity to the Established Church, before the dissentient Puritan elements in the population had resulted in peopling the American colonies with the most liberal-minded of the English. It thus came about that the inhabitants of the American colonies were the most advanced and tolerant among all nations then existing, and although the colonists were not completely self-governing, yet the opinions and feelings of the people did not fail to influence their rulers. Of all the American colonies, that of Rhode Island was most liberally governed. It had been founded by Roger Williams, the apostle of religious liberty, whose writings on behalf of toleration of the Jews have already been mentioned; and in its constitution, adopted in 1641, one of the laws ran: 'We agree, as formerly hath been the liberties of the town, so still, to hold for the liberty of conscience.' It was under Williams' presidency later, between 1655 and 1657, that the foundations of the remarkably prosperous Jewish settlement of Newport were laid. Williams, who during his visits to England never omitted to take part in the campaign for toleration, was, as has also been mentioned, ably seconded by another preacher, Hugh Peters, who had filled the pulpit vacated by Williams at Salem.

Toleration in the Colonies.

Another impulse that came from America was the com-

Jewish settlements in the Colonies

pulsory emigration of numerous Jewish residents in South America. The reconquest of the Brazils by the Portuguese in 1654 necessitated a resumption of the perennial wanderings of the exiles. Many of the fugitives, who were numbered by the thousand, fled to the English and Dutch colonies in North America and the West Indies. Some of them founded the Jewish settlement in New York, then known as New Amsterdam. A large body turned to the country from which their former home had been torn, and made their way under the lead of their rabbi, Isaac Aboab, to Holland. Those who settled in the English colonies carried their trade with them. No longer on Dutch soil, however, commerce with their relatives and friends in Holland was rendered most difficult, if not impossible, by the commercial policy of England as exemplified in the Navigation Act which protected English shipping and English ports at the expense of those of the Continent. To continue their business relations with their friends living in Holland, it was necessary that the latter should either themselves settle in England or appoint agents there. In either case Jews alone were affected, and thus the conquests of Portugal in South America led to an increase of the Jewish population of London.

and in London.

The Lost Ten Tribes.

One other American element in the Re-Settlement was of a more academic character. The problem of the fate of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel is one that had already, by the date at which we have arrived, for centuries aroused considerable attention in certain circles. Throughout the civilized world attempts were frequently being made to solve the mystery. In England, references to the Lost Tribes and the supposed place of their concealment are to be found in writers as early as Matthew Paris (1241) and Sir John Mandeville (1322–57). In the time of the later Tudors and the Stuarts interest in the problem was renewed. Giles Fletcher, Elizabeth's minister to the Emperor of Muscovy, claimed to have discovered them among the Tartars. George Sandys found them in 1610 in the neighbourhood of the Caspian. Meanwhile an entirely new theory as to their fate had arisen with the investigations of the Spaniards in America. Many of their writers contended that

In America.

the descendants of the Tribes of Israel were to be found among the inhabitants of the New World, and in the controversies that ensued between the Spanish supporters and opponents of that view, a large number of books were written. The controversy after a time reached England. Its sponsor in this country was Thomas Thorowgood, one of the Assembly of Divines. Eager to introduce the missionary work of John Eliot among the North American Indians to the sympathetic notice of the English, in order that the latter might give it support, Thorowgood, in 1648, wrote his *Jewes in America*. The renewal of the Civil War delayed its publication, and in the meanwhile the proof-sheets were read by John Durie, who had already adopted the cause of toleration, and subsequently took a prominent part in the Jewish Re-Settlement movement. John Durie had, when in Amsterdam, heard other stories of the Israelitish ancestry of the natives of America, and had moreover met Menasseh ben Israel.

An English controversy regarding their fate.

Menasseh ben Israel.

Menasseh ben Israel was born in 1604, it is generally believed in Lisbon of Marrano parents. A new theory has, however, been produced that puts forward La Rochelle as the place of his birth.[1] It is certain that his parents suffered severely in the former and possibly also the latter of the great outbursts of activity displayed by the Inquisition in 1603 and 1605, and in consequence of the sufferings then endured, they, together with a large number of fellow Marranos, left Portugal at that time. Wherever Menasseh was born, he and his parents settled in Amsterdam very shortly after their departure from Lisbon. In Amsterdam, Menasseh's education was entrusted to Rabbi Isaac Uziel of the new congregation, the *Neveh Shalom*. Uziel was not only learned in Talmud and mathematics, he had also some reputation as a physician, and was well known as a Hebrew poet. Under his master's care Menasseh progressed so satisfactorily that at the age of fifteen he was qualified to preach, and three years later he was appointed to succeed his teacher, who had died. About the same time Menasseh married Rachael Soeira, a great-granddaughter of

Menasseh's early years and education.

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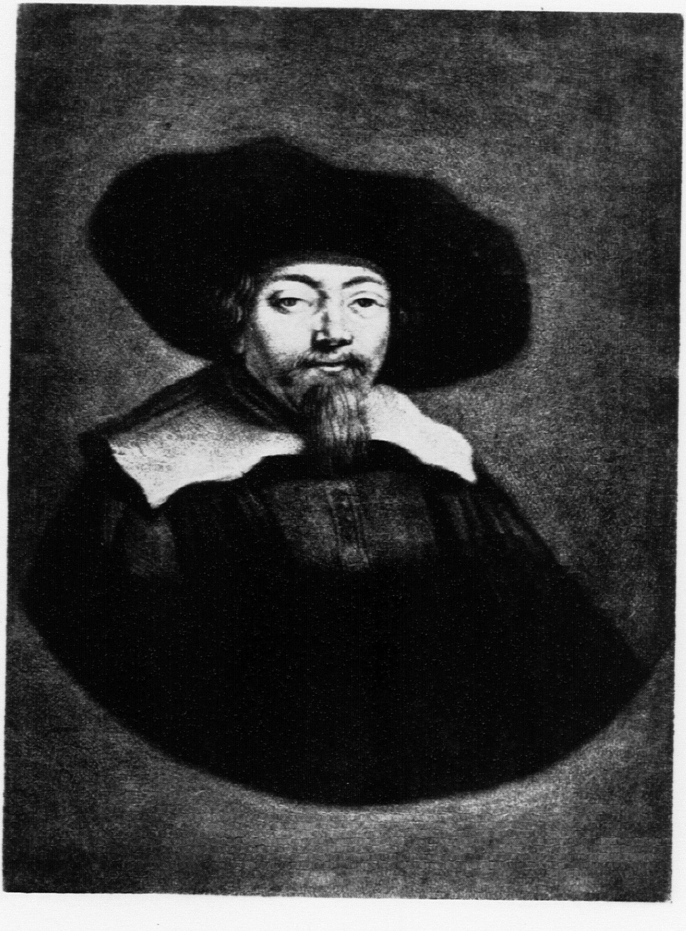
[1] See Cardoso de Bethencourt, *Jewish Chronicle*, May 20, 1904.



MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL
Engraving after an Etching by Rembrandt

the illustrious Don Isaac Abravanel,[1] and a member of a family reputed to be descended from King David. By her he had three children, Gracia (Hannah), Joseph, named after Menasseh's father, and Samuel.

His occupations in Amsterdam.

His printing-press.

'The Conciliator.'

So successful as a preacher did the new rabbi become that he proved a rival to his renowned colleague, Isaac Aboab, between whose oratory and Menasseh's it was difficult to give the preference. To teaching also Menasseh devoted himself with zeal. Finding his income inadequate Menasseh established a Hebrew printing-press in Amsterdam, the first in the Netherlands. This was in January 1627. Meanwhile Menasseh, who was acquainted with ten languages, was engaged on his chief literary work. In *El Conciliador*, the first part of which was published in 1632, all apparently inconsistent passages in the Old Testament are enumerated, and the recognized Jewish interpretations explained in detail. The book was almost the first of interest to Christian readers written by a Jew in a modern language, and attracted considerable attention in non-Jewish circles. The work was also well received by Jewish authorities. By Dionysius Vossius, the *Conciliador*, which was written in Spanish, was translated into Latin, and by Marco Luzzatto into Italian. Yet the work was little more than a compilation, and as a compiler—for the *Conciliador* was no exception from the rule followed in Menasseh's theological writings—should he be described rather than as the 'Theologian and Philosopher', as he liked to style himself.

Menasseh's philosophical writings.

Menasseh's writings may be classed under three headings —Theological Philosophy, Theological Expositions, and Historical Writings. In the first class comes *De Termino Vitae* (1639)—written in Latin, and translated afterwards by Thomas Pocock into English—written at the request of Beverovicius, so that the Jewish side of a question then exercising thinking minds should be heard; *De la Resurreccion de los muertos* (1636), *De la fragilidad humana, y inclinacion del hombre al peccado* (1642), both written in Spanish and translated into Latin; *Nishmas Hayim* (1651) in Hebrew, a work full of Cabbalistic tendencies; and an essay 'On Creation' (1635) in Latin. The last named gave rise, through an eulogistic poem written in praise of it by Barlaeus, to a learned and lengthy controversy.

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[1] The statesman and Biblical commentator (1437–1508), who, after vain efforts to induce the revocation of the edict of expulsion of the Jews from Spain, himself headed the exodus. Abravanel was treasurer to Alfonso V of Portugal. On the death of that monarch he entered the service of Queen Isabella of Castile, and after the expulsion from Spain that of the King of Naples. After his subsequent settlement in Venice Abravanel negotiated a commercial treaty between that Republic and Portugal.

His theological works.

Among Menasseh's Theological Expositions are to be placed his *Conciliador* already noticed, the second part of which appeared in 1641, the third in 1650, and the fourth and last the following year.—In 1655 he wrote a supplement in Spanish, *Piedra Gloriosa o de la Estatua de Nebuchadnesar*, dedicated to Isaac Vossius, and illustrated with four etchings by the author's friend Rembrandt—and *Thesouro dos Dinim* (1645–7), also in Spanish. Many of Menasseh's theological works were never published. Some were not even finished.

His historical writings.

Chief among Menasseh's Historical Writings comes the *Heroic History*, wherein the author proposed to edit and to some extent re-write Josephus, continuing the history of the Jews until the author's own day. The book, if written, was, however, never published. His other writings in the same class, the *Vindiciae Judaeorum*, the *Hope of Israel*, and the *Address to the English Nation*, will receive notice later. One other book from Menasseh's pen that demands mention is his translation of Phokylides into Spanish verse.

Menasseh's correspondents and friends.

The reputation gained for Menasseh by these works rapidly spread throughout Europe, and his correspondents included most of the learned Jews of the day. In addition many Christian scholars, attracted to him by his writings and his renown, joined the circle of his acquaintances and friends. Among Menasseh's personal friends was also included the artist Rembrandt, who painted his portrait. On one occasion Menasseh took a party, consisting of Huet the sceptic and theologian, David Blondel the French Protestant theologian and writer, Samuel Bochart the French Protestant minister, theologian, and author, and Isaac Vossius, to the *Neveh Shalom* synagogue, of which he was rabbi. Menasseh's distinguished Jewish friends were also numerous. Joseph Solomon Delmedigo of

Candia, the philosopher and physician, who in the course of his wanderings found himself at Amsterdam, was enabled by Menasseh to publish there a selection of his works.

Menasseh's private troubles.

Although Menasseh had thus obtained a distinguished place in the literary circles of Amsterdam, his private life was by no means devoid of worry and anxiety. The pittance allowed him by the congregation to which he was attached was quite insufficient to supply his needs, and the success of the printing business he had established was imperative. In this sphere of activity, however, competitors had arisen, and the business was no longer so remunerative as when first established. Moreover, Menasseh's relations with his colleagues in the service of the community were by no means friendly, and those with Saul Levi Morteira (*c.* 1596–1660), the Haham or rabbi of the *Bet Ya'akob* congregation, were especially strained. Morteira counted among his pupils Baruch Spinoza and Moses Zacuto. At a later date he was a member of the Beth Din that pronounced the decree of excommunication against the former. Driven by financial necessities Menasseh determined to enter the commercial world. He entered into partnership with his brother-in-law, Ephraim Soeiro, who in their joint interests went to Brazil in 1638. The expectations of Menasseh were not realized by this trading mission, and he thereupon determined himself to emigrate and settle in South America. In this determination he was strengthened by a communal reorganization in Amsterdam whereby Menasseh lost his appointment with the *Neveh Shalom* congregation. In preparation for the change, the second part of the *Conciliador*, published during the crisis, was dedicated to the Jews of Pernambuco and to the General Council of the Dutch East India Company. The Prince of Orange gave him letters of introduction to the President of the American Chamber of Commerce, and, despite the remonstrances of his Christian friends, Menasseh remained steadfast in his determination to emigrate. He bade farewell to his congregation, and was on the point of sailing, when Abraham and Isaac Pereira, wealthy Sephardim recently arrived from Spain, offered him the appointment of head of a theological academy they had just established in Amsterdam.

He enters commerce, and determines to settle in South America.

But is induced to remain in Amsterdam.

The offer was accepted, and Menasseh remained to devote himself to authorship and learning (1640). The printing business was continued for a few years until 1646, when it was handed over to his elder son Joseph. The latter was only in charge for two years when he died, at the early age of twenty.

Menasseh enters diplomacy.

Freed from his embarrassments, Menasseh commenced to devote his talents to a new object, that of diplomacy. The precarious political condition of the bulk of European Jewry and the vicissitudes through which numbers of Jews were continually passing had impressed themselves deeply on his imagination. Sympathy with his people in their trouble and their pain made him consider means of alleviation. A place of refuge for the oppressed of Israel, a land of liberty for them, was the goal, and in pursuance of this object an introduction to Queen Christina of Sweden was sought. This was easily obtained through Menasseh's friend Isaac Vossius. On the occasion of the queen's coronation in 1650, Menasseh dedicated to her a Spanish and Hebrew poem. The next step was to crave permission to dedicate the *Conciliador*, just completed, to the young queen. At the same time Menasseh offered his services in helping the queen, who was a student of Hebrew, to extend her Hebrew library. The offer was gladly accepted, and through Menasseh's instrumentality considerable additions made to the collection.

Queen Christina of Sweden.

Menasseh's political objects in this connexion were cut short by the abdication of the queen, but the correspondence between them nevertheless continued. He waited upon her during her stay at Antwerp, and shortly afterwards wrote his *Oracion panegyrica à la Magd. de Christina, Reyna de Suecia.* He also applied to her for means to publish his large Spanish Bible, but it is not known with what result.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE WHITEHALL CONFERENCE
(1650–1655)

Menasseh's views on English politics.

MENASSEH had since some years had his attention directed towards England and its politics. In the great struggle between the crown and the people his sympathies, in common with those of most of his fellow Jews of Holland, were on the side of the Stuarts, and he gave expression to these feelings on the occasion of the visit of Queen Henrietta Maria to the Amsterdam Synagogue in 1642. Five years later, in writing to an English friend, he stigmatized the Civil War as a Divine punishment for the expulsion of the Jews from England in the thirteenth century. Menasseh's dreams and hopes were thus gradually being turned in the direction of England, there to find assistance in his twofold plan for the hastening of the millennium and the immediate relief of Jewish suffering, when he received the letter concerning the Lost Ten Tribes from Dury. Dury was one of the numerous Christian scholars with whom Menasseh was on terms of friendship. During his visits to Holland he had frequently met the Amsterdam rabbi, and among other topics of conversation had been the remarkable 'Relation' of Antonio Montezinos. The story of Montezinos, otherwise Aaron Levi, which had attracted Menasseh, was to the effect, that while travelling in the interior of South America he had come across a native tribe that claimed descent from Reuben, undoubtedly a remnant of the Ten Tribes that had been lost centuries earlier. This story of Montezinos, which had been supported by affidavit, had obtained the immediate acceptance of Menasseh. Dury's request for information regarding it met with a ready response. Menasseh sent a copy

The 'Relation' of Antonio Montezinos.

of Montezinos' declaration by return, and on the appearance of Thorowgood's book in 1650 the 'Relation' of Antonio Montezinos was added as an appendix.

Menasseh and the Millenarians.

About the same time Menasseh had been in correspondence with the enthusiastic Millenarian, Nathaniel Holmes, wherein the views of the latter concerning the impending advent of the Messianic Age were put forward with emphasis. Hitherto Menasseh had troubled little about Montezinos' narrative, but the arguments of Holmes placed it in a new light. He remembered it had been foretold that before Israel could be restored to the Holy Land her scattering throughout the world must be complete. From the 'Relation' of Montezinos and other accounts it appeared that the Israelites had already reached America. In the whole of the then known world Britain remained the only country in which the Children of Israel were not to be found. Once the Dispersion were completed by the admission of the Jews into England, the millennium could no longer be delayed. All other interests were forgotten in the new discovery, and Menasseh henceforth devoted himself solely to working for the re-settlement of the Jews in England. The receipt of Dury's letter at first inclined Menasseh to write a treatise on the dispersion of the Ten Tribes generally. His plan, however, was speedily changed, and he determined to devote the volume to proving the authenticity of the claim to Israelitish ancestry by the natives of America, and, after glances at a few other Jewish matters, to conclude with a proof that the time of the Messiah was at hand. The book when completed was entitled *The Hope of Israel*. The Hebrew and Spanish editions did not exceed the intentions Menasseh had expressed. The Latin edition, however, which quickly followed the others, contained a dedication 'To the High Court, the Parliament of England, and to the Councell of State'. The achievements of that body were mentioned in eulogistic terms. Reference was made to favours conferred upon 'our Nation' in the past, and a continuation of them in the future requested. The dedication was made 'upon no other ground than this, that I may gain your favour and good-will to our Nation, now scattered almost all over the earth'. The publi-

The Hope of Israel.

cation created a sensation in England. The Puritans were flattered by the references to the Government; the Millenarians acclaimed the learned rabbi as a convert to their views. The treatise was at once translated into English, in which language two editions were rapidly exhausted. The impression the book made was, however, but transitory. Sir Edward Spencer's somewhat anti-Jewish booklet, to which reference has already been made, followed *The Hope of Israel.* Sadler, who was afterwards of great assistance in the Re-Settlement, expressed doubts concerning Montezinos' Relation in his *Rights of the Kingdom*; Fuller, in his *Pisgah Sight of Palestine,* also criticized Menasseh's proposals.

Cromwell's view of the Jewish Question.

Cromwell had little sympathy with these Messianic and Lost Tribes beliefs. To him the Jewish Question appealed solely or almost entirely from the practical side. Merely to hasten the millennium Cromwell was not likely to stir a foot; but to increase the prosperity of the country, to extend its influence and its wealth, and correspondingly to place the English nation in the forefront of the European powers, was of more consequence. Cromwell's knowledge of the Crypto-Jews of London and of their services both to the Commonwealth and to commerce has already been mentioned. An increase in the number of men such as Carvajal and De Caceres, Cromwell had very good reason to welcome. For the moment this object of Cromwell's seemed on the point of attainment without any special effort. During the year 1651 negotiations were in progress with the Government of Holland for a treaty of coalition between the two countries, and if this had been effected Jewish merchants would have acquired in England rights similar to those they possessed in Holland. The negotiations, however, failed, and instead of a treaty of coalition, the protectionist Navigation Act, specially directed against Holland, entered the Statute Book. Under the new conditions it became advisable for Jewish merchants to settle in England, and as their removal would prove mutually beneficial, some means of legalizing a Jewish settlement had to be found.

The St. John Mission and Menasseh.

The St. John Mission, consisting of Oliver St. John, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Walter Strickland, who had previously acted as the representative of the Long Parliament in Holland, with John Thurloe, afterwards Secretary of State, as secretary, finding its original mission likely to be a failure, was instructed to study the Jewish Question, and in all probability entered into negotiations with the leading Jews of Amsterdam. Thurloe certainly had frequent interviews with Menasseh, and the members of the Mission were entertained by the synagogue. The return of the Mission to England was immediately followed by a letter from Menasseh to the Council of State, which was referred to a committee of which Cromwell himself was a member. A few months later two passes, together with an invitation to come to England, were sent to the Amsterdam rabbi. In the meanwhile, however, the long-threatened war broke out between England and Holland, and Menasseh's departure was prevented. Moreover, more urgent affairs drove the Jewish Question into the background, and although the discussion of the subject continued fitfully in pamphlets and broadsheets, for the moment it was no longer a topic of practical politics. Nevertheless, in 1653 a Puritan extremist, Samuel Herring, in the midst of a lengthy petition to Parliament asking for various reforms in the government of the kingdom, prayed 'That the Jewes should be called into this Commonwealth, and have places allotted them to inhabit in, and exercise there lyberty, for there tyme is neere at hand'. Similar action was also taken by Robert Rich, and on the motion of Henry Martin that the supposed Act of Expulsion be repealed, a spirited but futile parliamentary debate took place.

Menasseh invited to England.

War with Holland delays the Jewish Question.

Conclusion of peace.

The conclusion of peace the following year saw the resumption of the negotiations between Cromwell and Menasseh. The latter, however, still failed to make use of his pass and in person plead the cause of his co-religionists before the English Government. He was dissuaded by his friends from crossing to England, 'considering the chequered and interwoven vicissitudes and turns of things here below'. The true explanation was the precarious position Menasseh held in Amsterdam, in consequence of his quarrels with colleagues. It was feared that the undertaking of a mission to England, a nation at that time detested by the Dutch fresh from hostilities, might prove fatal to Menasseh's position in Amsterdam. Menasseh therefore stayed at home, and in his place his brother-in-law, Manuel Martinez (David Abarvanel) Dormido, crossed the North Sea.

David Abarvanel Dormido.

Dormido had been a wealthy Marrano and a Government official in Andalusia. Like so many of his kindred, however, he had come under the notice of the Inquisition, and to escape the attention of the Holy Office had fled. After eight years in Bordeaux, Dormido settled in Holland, where he openly joined the Jewish community. In Amsterdam Dormido became a merchant and a leading member of the Jewish community. The conquest of Pernambuco by the Portuguese early in 1654, however, deprived him of the greater portion of his wealth, and finding it necessary to recommence his career, Dormido determined to do so in England, where he knew many other Marranos had settled. Thus Dormido came to England in two capacities—privately to mend his fortunes, officially as the representative of his brother-in-law Menasseh, and through him as the ambassador of Jewry. Immediately on his arrival in London, Dormido set about preparing two petitions to Cromwell. The former dealt with his own personal affairs. It recorded his sufferings in the past, his desire to become a citizen of the Commonwealth, and his prayer for the Protector's intercession with the king of Portugal, so that Dormido's property might be restored. The second petition asked for the re-admission of the Jews to England on terms of equality with the Christian inhabitants. Their admission was asked for on the grounds of the advantage to trade and industry of a Jewish immigration, and the consequent increase in the public revenue. Finally, Dormido asked that, in the event of the prayer being granted, the control and management of the new community should be entrusted to him.

Dormido's petitions referred to the Council of State.

These petitions were most graciously accepted by Cromwell, and immediately referred to the Council of State, with the endorsement: 'His Highness is pleased in an especiall manner to recommend these two annexed papers to the speedy consideration of the Councell, that the Peticion may receive all due satisfacion, and withall convenient speed.' The Council as a body was, however, not so earnest in the satisfaction of Dormido's petitions as was the Protector. The petitions were referred to a committee, which reported a month later, when the Council, in the absence of Cromwell, resolved that it 'saw no excuse to make any order'. That Cromwell did not agree with this resolution is obvious from his action. Despite the determination of the Council to have nothing to do with the matter, Cromwell immediately granted one of the prayers of Dormido, and sent an autograph letter to the king of Portugal asking him as a personal favour to restore Dormido's property. This was only a personal matter, and, from the political point of view, of no consequence. The larger question still remained unsettled, and, despite the set-back given to it by the resolution of the Council, Cromwell was still earnestly in favour of the re-admission of the Jews. To gain this end it was necessary for the cause of Jewry to be pleaded by a better known and more important personage than Dormido. If Menasseh's scheme were to be successfully accomplished, it was necessary for him to support it in person. Samuel ben Israel, who had accompanied his uncle Dormido to England, was therefore sent back to Amsterdam with an invitation from the Protector to Menasseh to come to England. In October 1655 Menasseh ben Israel arrived in London with the manuscript of his *Humble Addresses* in his pocket. In the interval between the rejection of Dormido's petition and the arrival of Menasseh, a scheme had been adopted for the settlement of the Jewish victims of the Portuguese re-conquest of Pernambuco and Recife in the English colony of Surinam. There they were given considerable advantages, in addition to the guarantee of freedom of conscience and full civil rights, and for a long period the Jewish community of Surinam was one of the most prosperous in the Diaspora.

Cromwell and Dormido.

Arrival of Menasseh.

Menasseh was accompanied by his son and three rabbis, one of them, Jacob Sasportas, afterwards Haham or ecclesiastical head of the London community. He did not take up his quarters in the eastern part of the city, where the Marranos dwelt, but was lodged in the Strand, a neighbourhood frequented by foreign ambassadors and other persons of political consequence. His first business was to print the *Humble Addresses*, the formal petition to the Government for the re-admission of the Jews. In this document the petitioner no longer put forward the Messianic prophecies and Lost Tribe legends as primary arguments in support of his request. He based his claims on the argument of political expediency. Incidentally he defended the Jews against the charges of ritual murder, usury, and the conversion of Christians. He asked for absolute freedom of movement and settlement for Jews in England, together with the unrestricted exercise of their religion. The prime motive of his previous efforts had been the hastening of the millennium. The renewal of the persecution of the Jews in Poland now rendered him anxious to find a refuge for the fugitives from Eastern Europe, as well as for the victims of the Inquisition escaped from the Spanish and Portuguese dominions.

The *Humble Addresses*.

Unfortunately for the cause Menasseh had at heart, the enthusiasm that had been shown a few years earlier in many quarters had considerably cooled. Of the leading English advocates for the re-admission, Williams was in America, Sadler in office and therefore silenced, and Peters with little influence. The conversionists and Millenarians cared nothing about the restrictions imposed on the Jews so long as they were admitted. The political and economic advocates of the re-admission were afraid to publish the reasons of their policy, lest, on the one hand, they should arouse the criticisms of the religious advocates of the same cause, and, on the other, stir up the hostility of the merchants, who would not be likely to welcome the admission of competitors in business. The difficulties were increased by the intrigues of Royalists and foreigners. The former did their utmost to prevent the consummation of Menasseh's scheme, first, because it was favoured by Cromwell and therefore ought to be prevented; secondly, because they were anxious to attach the rich Dutch Jews to their own cause. The foreign hostility came especially from Holland, where it was seen that the new policy, that of attracting the Dutch Jewish merchants to England, was in reality but a continuation of that of the Navigation Act, avowedly directed against that State.

English opinion.

Attitude of the Royalists.

Harmful rumours.

The hostility of these parties took the form of the dissemination of rumours. It was widely reported the Jews had made an offer for the purchase of St. Paul's Cathedral and the Bodleian, and, in order to involve Cromwell in the ill effects that ensued, it was alleged that the sale only fell through in consequence of a difference about the price. Attempts were also made to hold Cromwell up to ridicule by statements concerning a Jewish mission sent to Huntingdon to investigate his ancestry with a view to proving him to be the Messiah, and by the assertion that Menasseh at his first interview with Cromwell prodded him in the side in order to ascertain whether he were in reality flesh and blood or a spiritual manifestation. It was said that Cromwell proposed handing the Customs over to the Jews to farm. Various libels concerning the Jewish character were repeated, and the impossibility of the acceptance of Christianity by them declared. In the desire to discourage any sympathy with the Jewish cause on the part of the conversionists, the paradoxical device of engaging the services of a converted Jew, Paul Isaiah, formerly a trooper in Rupert's Horse, was adopted, and it was in the interest of the opposition party that his *The Messias of the Christians and the Jews* was published. The condition of affairs was rendered even worse by the publication of the *Humble Addresses.* The religious party among the English advocates of admission resented the emphasis laid on the economic side of the question, while the opponents doubted the reliability of the arguments put forward. The stream of pamphlets on the Jews recommenced, but the direction was changed. The majority were now devoted to attacks. Only two or three writers dared to use their pens in favour of admission. Both Judaism and the Jews were attacked, and the former advocates of Jewish rights remained silent or advocated restrictions on the proposed Jewish settlement. John Durie was studying Jewish disabilities at Cassel with a view to their introduction into England. Henry Jessey was in favour of restrictions.

Anti-Jewish agitation.

Menasseh's Petitions before the Council.

The commotion and attacks did not deter Menasseh from his purpose. As soon as his *Addresses* was printed, he took copies to Whitehall for presentation to the Council of State.

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ber at Whitehall. Judging from the standing of its members, the Conference was one of the leading events in the history of the Commonwealth. In addition to Cromwell himself the statesmen present comprised Henry Lawrence, the Lord President of the Council; Sir Gilbert Pickering, one of Charles I's judges; Sir Charles Wolseley, one of Cromwell's peers; John Lisle, the regicide; Francis Rous, Speaker of the Little Parliament—all members of the Council; Walter Strickland, one of the ambassadors to the Netherlands four years earlier; Major-General John Lambert, the leading spirit in the Council of Officers; and William Sydenham, soldier and statesman. The law was represented by Chief Justice Sir John Glynne and Chief Baron William Steele, Lord Chief Justice St. John, Strickland's colleague in the embassy, was also invited but did not attend. The mercantile community was represented by Alderman Dethick the Lord Mayor, Sheriff Thompson, Alderman Robert Titchborn, Alderman Riccards, Sir Christopher Pack, ex-Lord Mayor, the leading mercantile authority in the country, Edward Cresset the Master of the Charterhouse, William Kiffen the wealthy merchant-parson, and the regicide Owen Rowe, then deputy-governor of the Bermuda Company.

The members of the Conference.

The Theologians present.

The class that had the largest share of representation at the Conference was that of the theologians. Sixteen of these, the spiritual leaders of Puritan England, attended the first meeting. They were Ralph Cudworth, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge; John Owen, most famous of Independent divines and most fearless of advocates of religious liberty; John Caryll, the Bible commentator; Thomas Goodwin, President of Magdalen College, Oxford; Henry Wilkinson, Canon of Christ Church; Whitchcote, Provost of King's. The preachers were William Bridge, Daniel Dyke, Henry Jessey, Thomas Manton, Matthew Newcomen, Philip Nye, Anthony Tuckney, William Benn, Walter Craddock, and Samuel Fairclough. John Carter also received an invitation, but was on his deathbed when it reached him. The Conference was obviously packed. The great majority of the members had already committed themselves to the cause of religious toleration, while several of the laymen were notoriously subservient to Cromwell.

The Questions.

No legal bar to the Re-Settlement.

Two questions were placed before the Conference : ' Whether it be lawful to receive the Jews. If it be lawful, then upon what terms is it meet to receive them ? ' The first was a question of law, and, as such, left to the two judges to decide. They had no difficulty in doing so, and gave it as their joint opinion at the first meeting that ' there was no law which forbad the Jews' return into England '. The first point gained, the Conference was adjourned. The second question was discussed on the 7th, the 12th, and the 18th of December, but matters by no means ran so smoothly as Cromwell had hoped. The clergy were not so strongly in favour of the Jewish claims as had been expected. The libels of the pamphleteers had done their work, and on religious grounds strong objections were raised to an unrestricted Jewish settlement. Fears were expressed lest Jesus might be blasphemed at public religious services ; lest the synagogue might become the centre for all the Judaising sects in the country. The risk of English converts to Judaism joining the Jews in sacrificing their children to Moloch was even suggested. The moderate majority was in favour of the admission of the Jews under severe restrictions, thus adopting the opinions expressed by Barlow, Librarian of the Bodleian, in a memorandum presented to the Conference by Goodwin. Only a small remnant, consisting of Lawrence, Lambert, and Caryll, contended for unrestricted admission.

The Party for unrestricted admission of the Jews.

To strengthen this party Cromwell made a few additions to the members of the Conference on the eve of its third meeting. Hugh Peters, the first of the advocates of unrestricted admission, Peter Sterry, Cromwell's favourite chaplain, and Bulkeley, the Provost of Eton, joined the other members. Cromwell's purpose was hardly served, at least by one of these additional members, for Peters, who had, since his first advocacy of the cause, learnt of the Crypto-Jews of London and their outward conformity to Catholicism, denounced the Jews as a self-seeking generation ' who made but little conscience of their own principles '. At the final meeting, the commercial aspect of the subject was under consideration, and on this occasion a departure was made from the previous procedure by the admission of the public to the deliberations. The result was that the chamber was thronged by a somewhat unruly crowd of violent opponents of the Jews armed with Prynne's newly published, virulently anti-Jewish tract *A Short Demurrer*, which interrupted the proceedings, and after a time joined in the discussion. The course of this discussion was throughout out of sympathy with the Jewish claims, and it culminated in a vehement anti-Jewish demonstration. The merchants, without exception, spoke against the admission of the Jews. They declared that the proposed immigrants would be morally harmful to the State, and that their admission would enrich foreigners at the expense of the English. One of the greatest disappointments Cromwell must have sustained on this unhappy occasion was the adhesion of one of his most devoted admirers, Sir Christopher Pack, the most eminent citizen of his day, to the ranks of the exclusionists. These opponents were in reality out of order. It had been decided that there was no bar to the admission of the Jews, and the Conference had only to decide the terms on which that admission was to be permitted. Moreover, the majority of the members—the divines—were averse from the exclusion of the Jews, since the object of the former was their conversion to Christianity. The circumstances were evidently ripe for a compromise, and, after some private exchange of views, Henry Jessey, the friend of Menasseh, and one of the strongest supporters of the Jewish claims, rose to propose one. His suggestion was to the effect that the Jews should only be admitted to decayed ports and cities, and that they should pay double Customs duties on imports and exports.

The opposition of the merchants.

A suggested compromise.

Cromwell, whose sympathy with the Jews had always been based on economic rather than religious or sentimental grounds, was aghast at the proposal. Suggestions of religious restrictions had but slightly concerned him, but the new proposals were of a far different character. His object was to increase the commercial prosperity of the country by the attraction of Jewish brains, Jewish energy, and Jewish capital to the commercial centres. To banish all these elements of success to decayed ports and cities, and even there to penalize them by double Customs duties, meant the total defeat of his plans. It would even mean the removal from London of those Crypto-Jews to whom his Government and English commerce were already so deeply indebted. The danger was imminent, for Jessey's proposal appealed to the majority of the Conference. It was necessary for a master-mind to act at once, and Cromwell did not hesitate to do so. Rising from the chair of state, he addressed the assembly. After a review of the various opinions that had been expressed, he designated the total as a babel of discordances. He had asked the divines for advice, but had only had his doubts increased. He had no engagements to the Jews, he protested, but 'since there was a promise of their conversion, means must be used to that end, which was the preaching of the Gospel, and that could not be done unless they were permitted to dwell where the Gospel was preached'. Addressing the merchants, he said, 'You say they (the Jews) are the meanest and most despised of all people. So be it. But in that case what becomes of your fears? Can you really be afraid that this contemptible and despised people should be able to prevail in trade and credit over the merchants of England, the noblest and most esteemed merchants of the whole world?'[1] It was clear that no hope was to be expected from the Conference. He left his place, and the Conference was at an end.

Cromwell addresses the Conference.

The Conference dissolved.

AUTHORITIES:—Lucien Wolf, *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission*; Albert M. Hyamson, *The Lost Tribes*, &c.; S. Levy, 'Bishop Barlow on the Case of the Jews' (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iii, 1899), 'John Dury and the English Jewry' (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iv, 1903); Lionel Abrahams, 'Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell' (*Jew. Quart. Rev.*, vol. xiv, 1902); Henry Jessey, *A Narrative of the Late Proceedings at Whitehall concerning the Jews* (1656).

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[1] This speech has been constructed by Mr. Lucien Wolf from fragments to be found in various contemporary writings.

CHAPTER XX

THE RE-SETTLEMENT

(1655–1658)

The Report of the Committee.

ALTHOUGH the Conference was dissolved, the matter was not yet concluded. The Committee had to report to the Council which had appointed it and did so to the following effect. The view of the judges that there was no legal bar to the Re-Settlement was accepted. The following opinions expressed at the Conference were put forward: (1) The grounds on which Menasseh had asked in his recent book for the re-admission of the Jews were 'very sinfull for this or any Christian state to receave them upon'. (2) The admission would create the danger of apostasy on the part of the Christian inhabitants in the country. (3) The existence of synagogues for public worship according to Jewish practices would be evil in itself and very scandalous to the Christian churches. (4) The Jewish customs concerning marriage and divorce were unlawful, and would set evil examples. (5) Strongly supported charges had been made against the Jews of not considering oaths made to Christians binding or harm done to them evil. (6) The admission of Jews would prejudicially affect the native merchants. Finally, the Committee recommended that the Jews should be admitted provided they had no autonomous jurisdiction; they should be restrained from blaspheming Christ; they should not profane the Christian Sabbath; they should have no Christian servants; they should be disqualified from holding public office; they should print nothing against Christianity; they should not discourage attempts to convert them to Christianity, while, however, they themselves should make no attempt at making proselytes.

The Report rejected.

The report was not, however, accepted by the Council. Cromwell had apparently had sufficient discussion and publicity so far as the Jewish Question was concerned, and was conscious that the only manner of gaining his way was by unofficial action and connivance at a Jewish settlement, rather than by legislative methods. Although there could be no legal bar to a settlement of Jews in England, in the then excited state of public opinion it would have been extremely inadvisable for any number to have entered the country, or even for those already there to have thrown off their disguise. Consequently from the outward point of view the opening of the year 1656 saw no difference in the position of the Jewish Question in London from that of twelve months previous. The Jewish colony remained undisturbed, but continued under the guise of Catholicism. The judges' decision and the obvious partiality of Cromwell towards the proposed immigration had, however, not passed unnoticed by the opponents of the Jews, and it appeared to them by no means wise to relax their efforts towards exclusion.

Further efforts of the exclusionists.

The campaign of the pamphleteers was continued. Within a few days of the dissolution of the Conference a new and enlarged edition of Prynne's *Demurrer*, which had proved so useful in exciting people's minds, was issued. The argument that the Expulsion by Edward I held good until reversed by Parliament was emphasized and amplified. A month later the second part of the *Demurrer* was issued. In this Prynne devoted his pen and his patience to detailing the disabilities under which the Jews were tolerated in the country before they were finally expelled, and the extraordinary crimes of which, in his opinion, Jews as a race were continually guilty. Others followed Prynne's lead. Cromwell's action was to give a verbal assurance, through Sadler, to the London Jews, of his personal protection, and permission to celebrate divine worship in the Jewish manner, provided it was done privately. Since the repeal of the Recusancy Acts in 1650, omission to attend service at the parish church was no longer penalized. By the Instrument of Government of 1653 no one could be compelled to profess Christianity. The only forms of religion

Cromwell gives an assurance of protection.

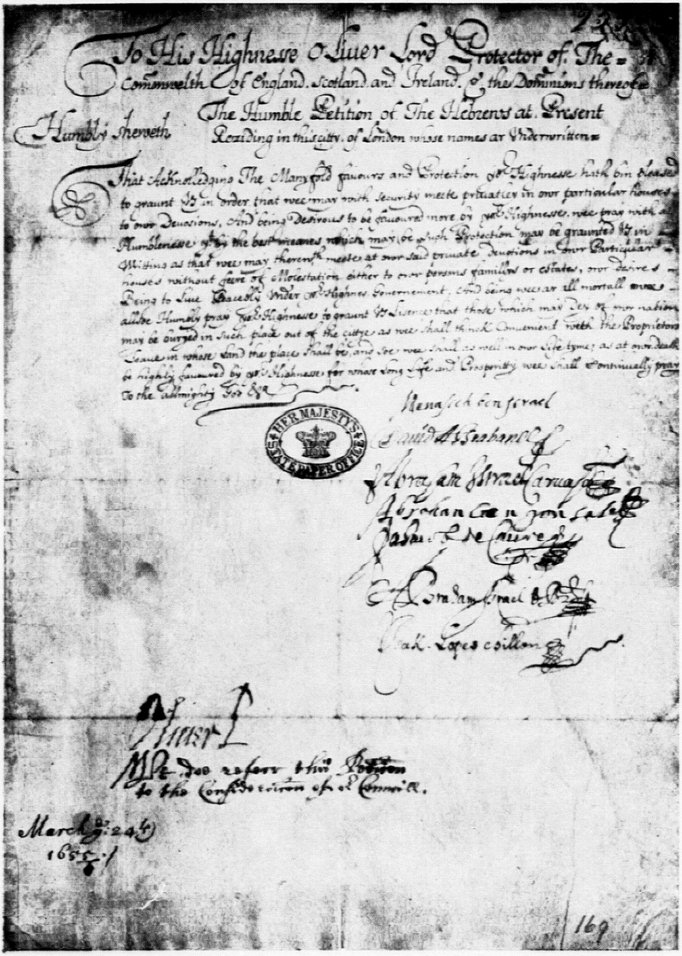
the practice of which was illegal were the papistical, prelatical, and licentious.

This unofficial secret tolerance of Judaism was, necessarily, but a temporary expedient. It could not remain secret for long, nor had it any of the elements of a permanent settlement of the question. The concession to the Jews speedily got noised abroad, and in due course reached the ears of those who had at the Conference shown themselevs so bitterly opposed to any concessions whatsoever. The opportunity for action on their part soon arrived. On the outbreak of war with Spain early in 1656 a proclamation was issued by the Privy Council declaring the property of all Spaniards lawful prize. The proclamation had hardly been published when, at the instigation of an informer, the property and papers of Antonio Rodriguez Robles, a Marrano merchant, were seized. At the time the affair did not bear a Jewish aspect. Robles appealed to Cromwell against the seizures, on the ground that he was a Portuguese and not a Spaniard, and an inquiry was ordered by the Council. It was, however, soon seen that this attack on Robles might well extend to an invasion of the interests of the other Marranos, many of whom were of Spanish nationality. The leading Marranos, consequently, hastily drew up a petition to Cromwell in which they asked that the 'favours and protection' extended to them, including the right of meeting privately for divine worship, might be confirmed. The doucment was signed by Menasseh ben Israel, David Abarbanel Dormido, Carvajal, Abraham Coen Gonzales, De Caceres, Abraham Israel de Brito, and Isaac Lopes Chillon. The document was not signed by Robles, whose sympathies lay rather with the Royalists. Cromwell referred the petition to the Council.

Outbreak of war with Spain. The property of Robles seized.

The next incident was the denunciation of further Marranos as Spanish subjects. A crisis was arising in the fortunes of the little community. The anti-Jewish zeal had re-awakened, and, as John Sadler pointed out to Menasseh, the libels of the pamphleteers were unfavourably affecting the interests of the community. Menasseh was urged to reply to the attacks of Prynne and others, and, in compliance, the *Vindiciae Judaeorum*

The *Vindiciae Judaeorum.*



To His Highnesse Oliuer Lord Protector of The Comonwelth of England, Scotland and Ireland, & the Dominions therof

The Humble Petition of The Hebrews at Present Reziding in this citty of London whose names ar vnderwritten

Humbly sheweth

That Acknoledging The Manyfold fauours and Protection yor Highnesse hath bin pleased to graunt vs in order that wee may with security meete priuatley in our particular houses to our Deuotions, And being Desirous to be fauoured more by yor Highnesse, wee pray with all Humblenesse yt by the best meanes which may be such Protection may be graunted vs in Writing as that wee may therewth meete at our said priuate deuotions in our Particular houses without feare of Molestation either to our persons famillys or estates, our desires being to Liue Peacebly vnder yor Highnes Gouernement. And being wee ar all mortall wee allsoe Humbly pray yor Highnesse to graunt vs Licence that those which may dey of our nation may be buryed in such place out of the cittye as wee shall think conuenient with the Proprietors Leaue in whose Land the place shall be, and soe wee shall as well in our Life tyme, as at our death be highly fauoured by yor Highnesse for whose Long Life and Prosperitty wee shall continually pray to the allmighty God &c.

Menasseh ben Israel

Dauid Abrabanel

Abraham Israel Caruajal

Abraham Coen Gonsales

Jahacob de Caceres

Abraham Israel de Brito

Isak Lopes Chillon

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Oliuer P

Wee doe referr this Peticon to the Consideracon of or Councill.

March 24th
1655/6

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PETITION OF THE MARRANOS TO CROMWELL, 1656

was published. Menasseh had no longer to plead for the unrestricted admission of the Jews, nor to prove that by that act the millennium would be hastened. His task was to safeguard the few concessions already made to the Jews settled in England, and moreover to defend the fair name and fame of the whole of the Jewish people. Right worthily did he fulfil his mission, and his *Vindiciae* has taken its place among the most effective defences of Judaism and Jewry. The publication of the *Vindiciae* was followed by a further move on the part of the persecuted Marranos. Robles, following up his previous appeal, addressed a fresh petition to the Protector. After reciting the sufferings of himself, his family, and other Jews at the hands of the Inquisition, he continued that he had sought refuge in England from those tyrannical proceedings, and in order to enjoy the proverbial hospitality of England towards afflicted strangers, and asked for Cromwell's sympathy for himself and his fellow Jews. This further petition was supported by affidavits signed by all the leading Marranos of London. The Marranos had thrown off their disguise and openly confessed Judaism.

The Marranos throw off their disguise.

This bold declaration attained its object. The confidence of the Crypto-Jews was not misplaced. The Robles case was inquired into by the Admiralty Commissioners, to whom it had been referred by the Council. By them the other Marranos were examined. The Commissioners were unable to arrive at a positive opinion with regard to the question referred to them. They admitted that the balance of evidence was in favour of the view that Robles was 'a Jew borne at Fundão in Portugall', but they left the responsibility of a decision to the Council, and this body, on the 16th of May 1656, ordered all the warrants to be discharged, and reinstated Robles in the possession of his property. The position of the Jews as a body was strengthened in accordance with the desire expressed in the last petition to the Protector. Rights of residence and trade were accorded. The City authorities were directed by Cromwell to place no impediments in the way of the Jews, and the Jews on their part agreed not to encourage an indiscriminate immigration, not to obtrude their worship and ceremonies

The right of unrestricted residence granted.

in public, not to engage in controversies, and to make no converts. The maintenance of a synagogue was permitted, and the right to acquire a cemetery granted. In February 1657 the lease for a Jewish cemetery in Mile End was granted to Carvajal and De Caceres. It is interesting to notice that the bell of the Parish Church was tolled at the earliest of the Jewish funerals in this cemetery. Shortly afterwards, Solomon Dormido, a son of David Abarbanel Dormido, was admitted a duly licensed broker of the City of London, the christological oath, in other instances considered essential, being waived in his case.

Results of Menasseh's mission.

All the requests of the London Marranos had been granted, but the goal to which Menasseh ben Israel had directed his efforts at the outset of his campaign was unattained. He had come to England to obtain for the Jews rights equal to those of the Christian inhabitants, to gain an asylum for the persecuted of Jewry. In no sense were those objects attained by the compromise that had been accepted. Opposed to what he must have considered a betrayal of the interests of Jewry, Menasseh refused to accept the settlement. The relations between him and the members of the London community became strained. His position in Holland had also been undermined, for there the Jews, all attached to the Royalist cause, had severed all relations with him on his mission to Cromwell. The Dutch Jews placed their trust in Charles, with whom they opened negotiations. Deserted by his friends, his resources exhausted, Menasseh did not even in these circumstances lose courage, but continued to urge on Cromwell the issue of a proclamation in the terms he had outlined at the opening of the negotiations. Menasseh's monetary troubles were relieved by Cromwell, first by a gift of £25, and later by a pension of £100 a year, which was almost immediately commuted. Menasseh continued doggedly on his course until September 1657, when his only surviving son, Samuel, died. Then his spirit broke. With the financial help of Cromwell, prematurely aged, he took his son's body to Holland, and there he himself died, two months later, in the house of his brother-in-law, Ephraim Soeiro, at Middelburg.

Death of Menasseh.

Practical concessions of Cromwell.

The battle had, however, been won by the Jews, and no further attempt to disturb them was made so long as their protector Cromwell lived. Secure in his favour the Jews of London went on their way untroubled. As merchants they mixed freely with their fellow merchants and brokers of other creeds. As Jews they held divine service, and performed the various Jewish ceremonies, no longer privately, but still not in a manner likely to wound the susceptibilities of their non-Jewish neighbours. There was no longer need for them to pretend to be other than what they were. On the other hand, they were careful not to obtrude their Judaism on their neighbours, nor to break the compact by which they had secured protection. Unfortunately, Cromwell survived this settlement but a few months, and on his death the government of the country, again unsettled, lapsed towards chaos. In the general distraction the position of the Jews again became insecure. The anti-Jewish party was not slow to take advantage of what it considered its opportunity. A few weeks after the Protector's death a petition was presented to Richard Cromwell by Richard Baker, on behalf of a hostile party of merchants, asking for the expulsion of the Jews and the confiscation of their property. The petition was, however, without effect.[1]

AUTHORITIES:—Lucien Wolf, *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission*, *Crypto-Jews under the Commonwealth*; M. Kayserling, *The Life and Labours of Menasseh ben Israel*; Israel Davis, 'The Re-Settlement of the Jews by Oliver Cromwell' (*Jew. Chronicle*, November 26 and December 3, 1880).

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[1] In 1656 James Harrington, the political writer, in his *The Oceana*, advocated the encouragement of the settlement of Jews in Ireland, where he foresaw that they would flourish in both agriculture and commerce to the advantage of themselves and the British.

CHAPTER XXI

THE JEWRY OF THE RESTORATION

(1659–1685)

Restoration of the Monarchy.

THE London Jewish community, on the re-entry of Charles II into his dominions, numbered not less than thirty-five families. Many of the names that had become prominent in the Anglo-Jewish annals of the Re-Settlement period were no longer to be found. From the list of London Jews drawn up in the year 1660, Menasseh ben Israel, Antonio Carvajal, Domingo Vaz de Brito, Isaac Lopes Chillon, Henrique Jorge Mendes, Simon de Caceres, and others, are absent, but in their stead are to be found new names, many of which afterwards became prominent in the community. Such are the Pereiras, the D'Oliveiras, Samuel de Veiga, Dr. Mendes Bueno, Rodriques, Franco Gomes, the Gabeys, Rodriques Nunes, Henriques Alvares, and the Lousadas. In addition four converts to Judaism have been traced, of whom Samuel Swinock and Bellamy, the cooper, were formerly connected with Carvajal.

The religious organization of the community.

The small community still had two synagogues, one for Sephardim in Creechurch Lane, and another apparently for Ashkenazim in St. Helens. Of the former and its organization the material exists for a fairly detailed description; of the latter, all that is known is that—as has already been mentioned—its rabbi was named Mier. A Sephardi synagogue had been in existence for some time, although at first its services had been conducted with great secrecy. By the arrival of the Restoration year all pretence at concealment had, however, been abandoned. In common with most European synagogues of the period, that of the London Sephardim was to some extent

The London synagogue of the Sephardim.

fortified. The protection in this instance took the form of three double-locking doors. The synagogue proper was on the first floor, and occupied two rooms, the smaller for the use of the women, the larger for that of the men. Following the continental custom, the two rooms were separated by a partition into which was fitted a long narrow heavily latticed window. The interior was arranged similarly to those of contemporary Sephardi places of worship.

Moses Athias.

Concerning the organization of the community we know that the rabbi was Moses Athias. Benjamin Levy filled the combined offices of *Hazan*,[1] *Shochet*,[2] *Bedek*,[3] and Secretary to the congregation. There were also a clerk and a communal physician, Joseph Mendes Bueno. The community possessed its poor, who even in the infancy of the congregation were attracted from all parts to London, and in the first balance-sheet of the Sephardi community provision is made for their relief. Finally, there was a cemetery at Mile End. The community had dwelt since the settlement of its pioneers in the ward of Portsoken.

Effects of Cromwell's death.

Jews and the Royalists.

The period marked by the death of the Protector and the Restoration of the Royal House was one fraught with much anxiety for the incipient community. Protected by the strong hand of Cromwell its members were safe to go about their business unconcerned by political changes, but when that protection was removed the general uneasiness, which month by month grew more pronounced until it culminated in the Restoration, affected the London Jews as well as the population by which they were surrounded. To the country generally the landing of Charles II brought for a time quiet and security. To the Jews, however, the passing of the Cromwell dynasty, the success of its injured rival, and the expected reversal of the whole of the policy of the previous decade and a half, seemed but the presage of impending trouble. Moreover, the leading members of the London community had been closely involved in several of the projects of the Commonwealth, and had in many ways rendered assistance to its forces. Such action was not likely to ingratiate the friends and colleagues of Carvajal and De Caceres with the new Government. On the other hand, it must not be understood that all the Jews who had any dealings with England at the time were supporters of the Cromwellian Government. The Royalists also had their sympathizers among the Jews of Holland and of France. The Da Costa family, and Augustine Coronel Chacon (*d.* 1665) in particular rendered assistance in restoring the exiled house of Stuart.

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[1] The Cantor, or public reader of the prayers in synagogue.

[2] The official who, in accordance with the Jewish ritual, kills cattle, &c., intended for consumption by Jews.

[3] The official who examines meat killed in the Jewish fashion, in order to ascertain whether it is free from disease and consequently fit for consumption by Jews.

Violet's anti-Jewish efforts.

The arch Jew-baiter of the time was Thomas Violet (died 1662), a writer on trade, goldsmith and alderman of the City of London, 'a restless meddling man', who had, under both Charles I and the Commonwealth, suffered punishment for political and other offences. As early as December 1659, Violet had opened his campaign by an application to the courts, in the course of which he set forth the case against the Jews that had been drawn up by Prynne. The Jewish settlement under Cromwell, Violet contended, was illegal, and his application was that the law should be set in motion against those Jews who were then in the country. The judge was not disinclined to accept Violet's views, but in the then disturbed state of the country he advised the postponement of the application. Violet was, however, impatient. Unable to have the Jews removed on the grounds of nonconformity, he endeavoured to involve them in a criminal charge. He had already had considerable experience in working up cases against merchants, and he now devoted his talents to the elaboration of a charge of coining against the London Jews. Unfortunately for Violet, his confederate, whose part it was to have passed a packet of spurious coins on Rabbi Athias, confessed his share in the conspiracy, and the result, as far as Violet was concerned, was failure. His next step (in 1660) was to renew his application, but the reply he received was the advice to lay the matter before the Privy Council. Violet was not slow to do so, and

An application to the Privy Council for the harassing of the Jews.

in his application he emphasized the alleged criminal propensities of the Jews. He did not ask for their expulsion; he suggested, on the other hand, that the property of the Jews should be confiscated, and they themselves thrown into prison, there to await ransom by their continental co-religionists.

Meanwhile more influential enemies than Violet, in the persons of the City authorities, took action. The Corporation had always been jealous of favours bestowed upon the Jews, but, recognizing their inability to move Cromwell from his purpose, had discreetly kept silent. The return of Charles II, however, gave them, they thought, their opportunity, and Violet's remonstrance was supported by a petition to the same effect from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. Various charges, economic, moral, and religious, were brought against the Jews. The king was asked to advise Parliament to expel 'all professed Jews out of your Majesty's dominions and to bar the door after them with such provisions and penalties as in your Majesty's wisdom shall be found most agreeable to the safety of religion, the honour of your Majesty, and the good and welfare of your subjects'. The petition referred explicitly to the privileges conferred upon the Jews by Cromwell.

The Jews appeal to the king.

The petition of the City aroused the Jews to action. The community met in the house of Señora Carvajal, the widow of Antonio, in Leadenhall Street, and drew up a counter-petition to his Majesty, praying for permission to continue to reside in his dominions. No attempt was made to disguise the existence of a religious community in London. All the petitions were considered by the Privy Council, and after considerable discussion it was resolved to refer them to the House of Commons for the advice of that body. This decision led to the issue of a further venomous pamphlet by Violet in order to assist the cause to which he had devoted himself. On the 17th of December a Royal Message was presented to the House, but instead of asking for advice whether the Jews should be banished or not, it desired that the question of the protection of the Jews should be taken into consideration. There is no record of any action by Parliament, and the *status quo* as established by Cromwell consequently remained undisturbed. The City received no answer to its petition, but it took no further action in the matter.

Change of Jewish status.

The status of the Jews in England was meanwhile changing. Under Cromwell the Jewish settlers were all of foreign birth, and denizations had been granted in but two or three instances. Charles was far more liberal in this respect, and before the end of 1661 practically all the leading members of the community had in this manner become English citizens. A new generation was also growing up born in the country, and these were of course Englishmen in every respect, but subject, on account of their religion, to certain disabilities.

Effect of the king's marriage.

The marriage of the king with Catherine of Braganza was of benefit to the community in more than one respect. In the train of the queen, whose marriage was suggested by Augustine Coronel, came the brothers Duarte and Francisco da Sylva, Portuguese Jewish bankers of Amsterdam, to whom was entrusted the management of the dowry that Catherine brought with her. The community had thus powerful friends at court. The marriage also led to a noticeable increase in the number of Marrano settlers, some of whom came to assist the Da Sylvas in their office. Moreover, the period was one of intense persecution of the Marranos of Spain and Portugal, and many of the victims escaped to England. It was about this time that the distinguished families of Mendes and Da Costa settled in this country. They intermarried so frequently that the family became known as Mendes da Costa. Fernando Mendes, a physician, was the first of the family to settle in England.

After the failure of the attempts of Violet and the City authorities, the little community remained on the whole undisturbed for a few years. Early in 1663, it is true, there was some talk of calling in the Jews' letters of denization, and also some trouble concerning the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, but both soon subsided, and the publicity and security in which the Jews worshipped are evidenced by Pepys, who visited the synagogue on October the 14th, 1663. Within a few months, however, a new trouble threatened. Without any warning a bold attempt to levy blackmail on the community was made by the Earl of Berkshire and a man named Ricaut. They called one day on the leading Jews of the metropolis, and told them that the king had placed the Jews in their care, and unless a large amount were paid without delay, Berkshire and Ricaut would seize the whole of their property. The threat did not frighten Dormido and his colleagues. Instead of paying the demands they brought the conspiracy to light in a petition in which they prayed the king to continue his protection to the Jews, and permit them to remain and trade in the kingdom. The petition met with the desired response, and the king's assurance that he had not given any order for 'the molesting or disquieting the Petitioners either in their Persons or estates, but that they may promise themselves the effects of the same favour as formerly they have had, soe long as they demeane themselves peaceably and quietly with due obedience to his Majesty's Lawes, and withoutt scandall to his Government', finally settled the pretensions of the two blackmailers.

An attempt to blackmail the Jews.

The king protects the Jews.

The year 1664, that of the first official extension of the royal protection to the London Jewish community, also saw the adoption of the Conventicle Act, a measure intended to harass the Puritans, against whom the temper of the country had turned. By its provisions all meetings of more than five persons, except in family gatherings, for any religious purpose not according to the Book of Common Prayer, were declared seditious and unlawful, and severe punishment was appointed for offenders. Charles, on his return, had pledged himself to religious toleration, and his own inclinations, in addition, were in favour of as liberal treatment of Roman Catholics as could be arranged. But more powerful forces overcame him, and he was compelled to give his approval to this oppressive measure. There can be little doubt that no thought was given to its possible effect on the Jews when the Bill was under consideration. It was directed against Christian Nonconformists alone, and it was they who suffered most severely under it. The Jews, on their part, continued to meet in numbers exceeding five for religious purposes not according to the

The Conventicle Act of 1664.

Jewish prayer-meetings at first unaffected.

teachings of the Book of Common Prayer, and consequently after the passing of the Conventicle Act those meetings became illegal, and the worshippers participating in them became liable to heavy fines and imprisonment.

Strange to say, no action was taken against the Jews for several years. Violet had died two years after the Restoration; Berkshire and Ricaut had apparently been discouraged from any further display of Jew-baiting by their recent abortive attempt to levy blackmail. Almost ten years passed before any attempt was made to harass the Jews in consequence of their continued offences against the Conventicle Act. In the year 1673, certain members of the community were indicted at the Guildhall for a contravention of the Act by meeting together for worship. A True Bill was found by the Grand Jury against the defendants, but representatives of the latter immediately appealed to the King in Council for permission either to exercise their religion freely or to retire with their property from the country. Charles showed himself as favourably disposed towards his Jewish subjects as he had been in 1664, and on the 11th of February the Attorney-General was instructed to stop all proceedings at law against the petitioners, and to provide that they be troubled no further in the future on the same account.

The Jews harassed under the Conventicle Act.

Charles II intervenes in their favour.

Nevertheless, one further endeavour was made to interfere with the conduct of Jewish worship. In 1685, shortly after the accession of James II, at the instance of Thomas Beaumont, writs were issued by the King's Bench against forty-eight Jews, thirty-seven of whom were arrested as they were following their business. The action was taken under a statute of Elizabeth, directed against the Catholics, which rendered abstention from 'a church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer' an offence. To meet this attack the precedent of 1673 was followed by the leaders of the community, who petitioned the king to permit them and their co-religionists to continue as heretofore the due exercise of their religion so long as they remained of good behaviour towards his Majesty's Government. James's reply was similar to that of his predecessor, and once more the Attorney-General was directed to stop all

Jews arrested under the Act of Uniformity.

James II stops the proceedings against the Jews.

proceedings: 'His Majesty's intention being that they should not be troubled on this account, but quietly enjoy the free exercise of their religion, whilst they behave themselves dutifully and obediently to his Government.' On no subsequent occasion was any attempt made to interfere with the religious observances of the English Jews.

AUTHORITIES:—Lucien Wolf, *The Jewry of the Restoration* (1902), 'The First Stage of Jewish Emancipation' (*Jew. Chronicle*, August 7, 14, and 19, 1903), 'Status of the Jews in England' (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iv), *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission*; M. Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (1901); H. S. Q. Henriques, 'The Return of the Jews to England' (1905), 'The Jews and the English Law' (1908); *Dictionary of National Biography*; W. S. Samuel, 'The First London Synagogue of the Re-Settlement' (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. x, 1924); Lucien Wolf, *The Jewry of the Restoration* (*Trans., Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. v, 1908).

CHAPTER XXII

THE SEPHARDIM

(1663–1702)

THE increase in the numbers of the community consequent on the Restoration and the additional security given by the settlement in public affairs, rendered some organization or re-organization in the government of the London Jewish community necessary. In the year 1663 extensive alterations were made in the building in Creechurch Lane, and before its close the amount of the contributions of members to the congregation was fixed, and the revision or compilation of a constitution (*Ascamoth*) decided on. This constitution was published on the 5th of April, 1664. No innovations were attempted. The compilers were all thoroughly conservative, and were satisfied to model their institutions and regulations on those of the Sephardi community of Amsterdam, from which city most of the principal members of the community had come. The lines laid down in Venice, the oldest of the post-Expulsion Sephardi communities, were also followed to some extent. These *Ascamoth*, in addition to laying down rules for the management of the affairs of the congregation, following the precedent set by Amsterdam and Venice, strictly forbade, under the penalty of excommunication, the holding elsewhere within the City of London and its suburbs, than in the synagogue, of service except in the case of mourners and bridegrooms. This law in later years led to much dissatisfaction and consequent agitation; but it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that a second Sephardi synagogue was established in London. The publication of books was not permitted to any

The community organized.

The *Ascamoth*.

members of the congregation without the consent of the *Mahamad*,[1] and in the case of any libellous writing the punishment was also to be excommunication. The intention in formulating this rule was doubtless to avoid any action on the part of members of the congregation which might lead to trouble with the civil authorities and consequent unwelcome attention to the community. Legal proceedings between members of the community, criminal as well as civil, were forbidden without notice to the *Mahamad*. The only exception was in cases in which delay might prove prejudicial and in those of failure to meet a bill of exchange. Members were also forbidden to join any party 'which any of the people may form against the government or ministry or judicial administration of the kingdom'. Furthermore, it was stated that the congregation was primarily intended for Spanish and Portuguese Jews, but any Jew not belonging to that community, either living in London or who might subsequently settle in London, could be admitted by permission of the *Mahamad*.

The communal revenues.

The revenue of the congregation depended upon both direct and indirect taxation. A tax was levied on all goods bought and sold by its members, and the price of all meat consumed was increased by one farthing per pound for the benefit of the communal treasury. At the head of the community were the wardens and a treasurer, and the first-known occupants of these offices were David Abarbanel Dormido, Moses Baruch Lousada, and Elias de Lima.

The community once definitely organized, steps were taken to procure a spiritual head. The spiritual affairs of the congregation had hitherto been in the charge of Athias, but with the increase in the standing of the congregation it was thought that the services of a rabbi of greater renown were required. Haham[2] Jacob Sasportas of Amsterdam was thereupon invited to take spiritual charge of the community, and after a little negotiation he consented and arrived in London in the course of the year 1664.

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[1] The governing body of the congregation.

[2] Haham (Wise Man), an old rabbinic epithet of honour, is the title borne by the spiritual head or chief rabbi of a Sephardi community.

Haham Sasportas.

Sasportas was in many respects well fitted to open the roll of London Hahamim, that has included so many names which have shed lustre on their community. He was born about 1618 in Oran, North Africa, a descendant of Nachmanides, the famous Spanish Talmudist and exegete. After education in Oran, Sasportas was, in his twenty-fourth year, appointed rabbi in Tlemcen in Morocco, subsequently removing to fill a similar post in the more important centre of Fez. While in this latter city the endeavours of the Sultan to extort money from him involved Sasportas in trouble, but after suffering a short imprisonment he managed to escape to Amsterdam. His country, however, still had need of him, and he was recalled and sent as ambassador to the king of Spain to invoke his assistance in suppressing a rebellion in Morocco. From Spain Sasportas returned to Amsterdam, and for a time was associated with Menasseh ben Israel in his literary undertakings and also accompanied him to London in 1655. There he met, among other pioneers of the Re-Settlement, Dormido, the warden of the synagogue when, as Haham, Sasportas later took office in London. At the time of his call to England a similar offer came from Leghorn. Sasportas did not retain his office long. The Great Plague in 1665 dislocated all the arrangements of the Metropolis, and among those whom it drove from the centre of infection was the Haham. Sasportas returned to Amsterdam, which, after a brief stay, he left for Hamburg. In this latter city he continued the campaign that he had already commenced in London against the Sabbathian movement,[1] whose adherents were to be found in every Jewish centre, east and west. For a short time he lived in Leghorn, but once more settled in Amsterdam, of which community he was appointed chief rabbi in 1681. For seventeen years, the remainder of his life, he filled this office, and although so long a period had passed since his departure from London, the announcement of his death was received in that city with expressions of grief and of mourning. Sasportas was considered one of the most learned men of his time. He earned

The Great Plague of 1665.

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[1] The religious movement commenced by Sabbathai Zevi, the famous pseudo-Messiah (born at Smyrna, 1626, died at Dulcigno, 1676).

great respect in all the countries in which he lived, both by his accomplishments and his acts, and his influence was felt in the London community long after his departure. Throughout his life Sasportas corresponded with and retained the friendship of the various Hahamim who succeeded him and one another at the head of the London community.

The first Anglo-Jewish charity.

The establishment of the congregation on a stable basis was speedily followed by the institution of the earliest of the subsidiary societies that have since that date increased to such an extent, and now form so large a cluster round the parent institution. The first of these societies, supplementary to the synagogue, was the *Hebra* of *Bikur Holim*, a society for visiting the sick, formed in 1666. The religious education of the children of the community was also not neglected, and the duties of the Haham, as laid down in the *Ascamoth*, included the devotion of several hours daily to teaching the tenets of Judaism.

Alien immigration.

The principal difficulty with which the community had to contend during these years seems to have been the problem of alien immigration. The toleration and protection enjoyed by the Jewish settlers in England, their prosperous condition, combined with the uneasiness and disquietude, varied by persecution, with which the fellow communities in the East were being troubled, served to attract to England many other children of the Jewish race. Troubles in the Balkans were not slow in reacting in Amsterdam, Hamburg, and London, and London's share in the wave of immigration of that period was almost more than it could digest. At times it seemed that the influx would involve the older settlers and their newly established institutions in one common ruin, and at these periods recourse was had to legislation, in order to discourage the settlement of new-comers incapable—temporarily, at any rate—of self-support. When the flood had abated, these ordinances fell into disuse, to be revived perhaps in a later crisis. The forces that attracted to these shores were, however, more powerful than any restrictive measures that the *Mahamad* could devise, and from the beginning of the reign of Charles II until early in the present reign the stream of Jewish immigrants has continued to flow, although it may have varied in intensity from time to time.

Haham da Silva.

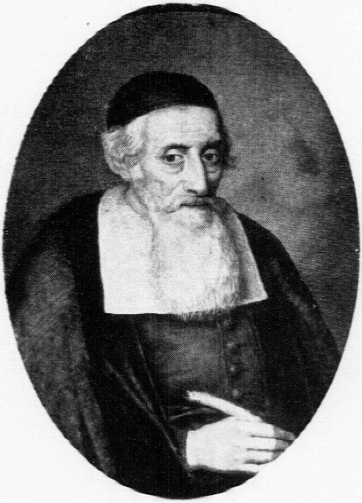
The office vacated by the departure of Haham Sasportas from London was filled after the lapse of a short interval by the appointment in 1670 of Joshua da Silva, a friend of the recent incumbent and a prominent pupil of Haham Aboab of Amsterdam. He remained in office until his death, nine years later, and was the first Haham to be buried in London. Before that date, however, the community had outgrown its synagogue accommodation, which had to be enlarged in 1674.

Haham Abendana.

On the death of Joshua da Silva, Jacob Abendana (1630–95) was appointed Haham. The new Haham had already held office in Amsterdam, but was born, and spent the greater portion of his life, in Hamburg. He only remained in office four years, but even in that short period his remarkable literary activity bore fruit in the translation into Spanish of the Mishna. His well-known translation of Jehuda Halevi's *Cuzari* was completed before he came to London. The appointment of Haham Abendana was preceded by the settlement of his brother Isaac (1650 *cir.*–1710 *cir.*), who was teaching at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1664, and afterwards settled at Oxford and taught Hebrew there. With the exception of Menasseh ben Israel and Leon Templo, who published his *Temple of Solomon* in 1675 (although in English, the book was printed at Amsterdam), he was the first Spanish Jew who is known to have published English works, and his calendars evoked so much interest in learned circles that after his death they were collected and republished under the title of *Discourses of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Polity of the Jews.*

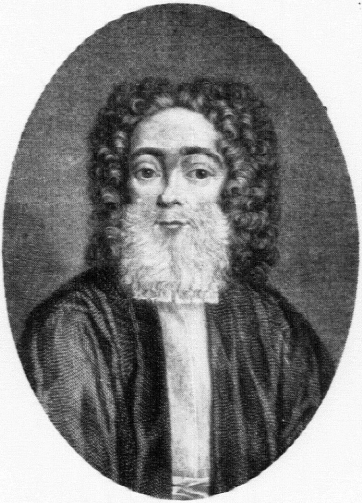
Haham Ayllon.

In 1689, Solomon Ayllon came to London to take over the spiritual charge of the community. He also came from Amsterdam, but his residence in that city had been of short duration. Ayllon was born at Salonica about 1660, but was taken to Safad in Palestine shortly afterwards. There he remained until he was sent as a messenger to Europe to collect funds for the relief of the Palestinians. His course led him to Leghorn, thence to Amsterdam, and subsequently to London. In Safad, Ayllon had been notorious for his Sabbathaian sympathies,



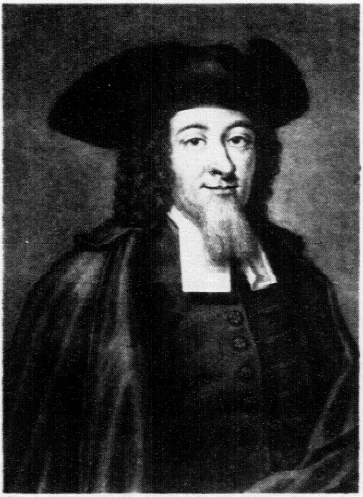
HAHAM JACOB SASPORTAS

Engraving by P. van Gunst



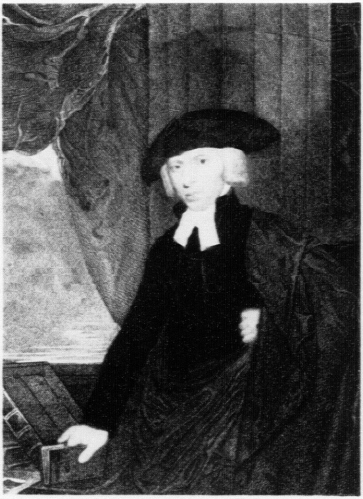
HAHAM SALOMON AYLLON

Engraving by J. Houbraken



HAHAM MOSHE GOMES DE MESQUITA

Engraving by J. Faber, after S. E. de Silva



HAHAM RAPHAEL MELDOLA

Engraving by Joshua Lopez, after F. B. Barlin

and these had been but slightly modified by his journey across Europe. London, under the influence of Haham Sasportas, had been ranged on the other side in the far-reaching controversy that raged around the personality of Sabbathai Zevi. These conditions did not tend to the success of the new Haham, and it is therefore not surprising that in 1701, after experiencing many difficulties, Ayllon was willing to retire to Amsterdam. In Holland, however, his troubles were by no means at an end, and his Sabbathaian proclivities soon involved him in controversies with Zebi Ashkenazi, his colleague in the Ashkenazi congregation.

Increase in the Jewish population.

Meanwhile the Jewish population of London had been continually increasing. Many causes contributed to the influx. Poverty, political troubles, religious persecutions, outbreaks of war, all acted as accessories to the immigration. The quarrels between the Emperor and the Turks, the occupation and recapture of Belgrade, caused a temporary flow towards England from that direction. The renewal of Inquisition activities in Portugal served to increase the Sephardi population of London. Consequently the synagogue was again uncomfortably full, and it was determined to erect a larger one in the same neighbourhood in Bevis Marks. This decision was taken in 1699, and the new building still used by the congregation was consecrated three years later.

Haham Nieto.

The previous year the vacancy in the office of Haham was filled by the appointment of David Nieto, 'without question the greatest of Hahamim' of London. In numerous paths the new Haham made a reputation for himself. The work of his life was the defence of orthodox Judaism, and in its course he did not hesitate to denounce the errors of its impugners, whether Christian, Sabbathaian, Caraite, or merely the ignorant members of his own congregation. His learning was deep, his energy unbounded. Science, literature, art, and poetry all had attractions for him, and to each he proved a worthy son. Moreover, he showed a conspicuous firmness of character and independence of spirit. Nieto was born in Venice in 1654, and studied theology and medicine. The Leghorn community conferred upon him the dual offices of preacher and physician,

Nieto's activity.

and these he filled until his call to London on the eve of the opening of the new and enlarged synagogue.

Authorities :—Lucien Wolf, *The Jewry of the Restoration* ; M. Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue* ; J. Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* (1875) ; *Jewish Encyclopedia* ; W. S. Samuel, 'The First London Synagogue of the Re-Settlement' (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. x) ; D. Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism* (1907).

CHAPTER XXIII

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY

(1677–1691)

THE period that intervened between the attacks on the London Jews in 1673 and 1685 was by no means without incident, so far as the external history of Anglo-Jewry was concerned. The attempt to interfere with the observance by Jewish settlers of their religion having been foiled in the earlier year, the anti-Jewish party looked about for another opportunity of annoying the colony. In July 1677 the attention of the aldermen of the City was called to the existence of a 'number of destitute aliens pretending to be Jews'. A Jewish migration from the east of Europe had been in motion for nearly a generation. The persecutions of the Cossacks in the middle of the century had had their natural sequel, and crowds of Jews and Jewesses had been fleeing westwards in order to avoid the cruelties of Chmielnicki and his followers. Hamburg and Amsterdam, the Jewish centres on the North Sea, were filled with fugitive Jews. Menasseh ben Israel, in his endeavours to effect a settlement in England, had been not unmindful of the fortunes of his troubled co-religionists. The first balance-sheet of the London Sephardi congregation shows a relatively considerable amount devoted to the needs of poor Jews. Once the matter was brought before the Court of Aldermen it acted promptly. It was decided that no 'Jews without good estate' should be permitted to reside or lodge in London or the liberties thereof. The result of this restriction was not altogether harmful to the struggling community. It is true that it retarded the growth

The problem of the poor.

Poor Jews excluded from London.

of the Ashkenazi community, but, on the other hand, it relieved the Sephardi settlers of what might otherwise have been a very serious burden, and gave great encouragement to the foundation of provincial communities, notably at Portsmouth and Hull.

Another matter that arose three years later promised at one time to be fraught with far more serious consequences to the community. Although the Marranos had braved numberless dangers in order to retain their connexion with their ancestral faith, at a later period at which to be a Jew was no longer fraught with untold terrors, conversions to the dominant faith became more frequent. The conversion of Rabbi Moses Scialitti in 1663, and of another Jew named Michael about the same time, both of whom were in residence at Cambridge, undoubtedly rendered easier the undisturbed continuation of the Jews in England, for it was hoped that their example would be widely followed 'to the greater glory of God'. These hopes, however, were not realized.

The affair of Eve Cohan.

The conversion that almost led to a crisis in the affairs of the community was that of Eve Cohan, the daughter of a wealthy and highly respected Jewish family in Holland. This lady eloped with one of her father's servants and came to England. In London she determined on being baptized, despite the endeavours of her Jewish friends to induce her to return to her parents. All entreaties having failed, legal proceedings were instituted in order to effect her temporary arrest. The case, as was natural, created a great sensation. The Bishop of St. Asaph made himself especially prominent in calling upon the Lord Mayor to 'vindicate the honour of the Christian religion and of the English nation', and the magistrate did not fail to respond to the appeal. Not only was the case dismissed, but the Lord Mayor threatened to proceed against the whole community 'for daring to offer such an affront to the religion and nation of the land'. He ordered an abstract of the 'laws in force against the Jews' to be prepared. The whole matter was, however, soon forgotten.

Suggested creation of a ghetto.

In the same year a suggestion, which if adopted would have had an incalculable influence on the future of the Anglo-Jewry, was made to the Government. The question of the creation of a political ghetto had been raised more than once in the preceding years. Menasseh ben Israel himself had asked that the Jews should enjoy a sort of judicial autonomy within their own community, and his brother-in-law, Dormido, believing the establishment of a ghetto in London inevitable, had applied for the post of consul to his nation. Shortly after the accession of Charles II, Jacob Azrik, a Jew of Prague, had offered to farm the special taxes to be levied on Jews. In 1680 the ghetto was again suggested as a solution of the financial difficulties in which the Government then found itself. The scheme was drawn up by the Bishop of Lincoln and Sir Peter Pett, and supported by Lord Anglesey. The system in force in the Pre-Expulsion period was to be adapted. The Jews were to be isolated civilly, but were to possess greater privileges than their predecessors. A special justiciary of the Jews was to be appointed—and for this office Sir Peter Pett was suggested—and he was to manage their special taxes and be the intermediary between them and the Government. The scheme was referred to the Privy Council and, fortunately, was never approved.

Alien duties.

A subject that led to a considerable amount of excitement in the Jewish colony, during the reign of James II and the opening years of that of William and Mary, was the question of the alien duties. The patents of denization conferred on their recipients, in addition to other advantages, exemption from the special duties paid by foreign subjects on the admission of foreign merchandise into England. This exemption, which reduced the handicap of the endenizened merchants, led to considerable dissatisfaction on the part of their rivals. The wisdom of these exemptions was discussed during the reign of Charles II, and the king was petitioned by several prominent merchants to abolish the privilege. Charles was, however, unable to share their views. This favourable attitude towards endenizened Jews continued throughout the short reign of James II despite the continued opposition of the London merchants. On the succession of William and Mary the case was again re-opened. A Custom-house officer hit upon the ingenious theory that the exemptions from these duties were only granted for the current reign, and that on the accession of a new sovereign they lapsed, and unless granted afresh, the alien duties were payable in full by importers hitherto endenizened.

No patents of denization had yet been granted or renewed by William. Nevertheless, the Jews, practically the only people benefited by the exemptions, continued to enter their merchandise in their own names and to pay only English duties on it. For these offences, it was contended, the whole of the goods that had thus been illegally imported were forfeit to the crown. This view was for the moment adopted by the Government, and proceedings were taken in the Court of Exchequer for the recovery of £58,000 from certain Jewish merchants. The Jews, however, were also not without influence, and this was used so successfully, both at court and with the Commissioners of Customs, that long before the date fixed for the hearing of the trial, an Order in Council was issued for the Attorney-General to enter a *Noli Prosequi* against any information that had been or might be brought against the Jews.

Development of the Customs controversy.

The agitation did not, however, rest at this point. Further representations were made to the Commissioners of Customs by the English merchants, in which it was pointed out that the recent decision would involve a loss by the Government of fully £40,000 due on past transactions, as well as for the future an annual revenue of £10,000. If these amounts were remitted so far as the Jews were concerned, they would have to be recovered from the people of England generally. The remission of these duties would also, it was contended, disturb the balance of trade, and unfair advantages would be obtained by the Jews over English merchants both at home and abroad. It was also submitted that the Order in Council was contrary to the spirit of the Act of Rights, and confirmed pernicious decisions made by Charles II and James II. It was pointed out that English merchants paid taxes not only in connexion with their business transactions, but also on the estates that most of them possessed. On the other hand, the 'rich Jews were past finding out', and the English would be very unwilling to pay the additional taxes.

Vacillating policy of the Council.

Convinced by these arguments the Commissioners placed the matter once more before the Council, and after renewed consideration the previous order was rescinded and another issued in its place. This latter order entirely met the wishes of the petitioning English merchants, and was correspondingly unsatisfactory to their Jewish colleagues, who, however, apparently recognizing the finality of their defeat, bowed to the inevitable and took no further steps in the matter.

In the latter stages of this controversy the City of London took part with the English merchants in their hostility to Jewish interests. When the question still remained one of alien versus native, the City authorities had shown little interest in the matter. The knowledge, however, that in this controversy alien was in reality a synonym for Jew aroused the aldermen, and from previous displays of anti-Jewish prejudice on the part of the City there could be little doubt as to its attitude. The Court of Aldermen discovered that, whether the denizations were void or not, the exemptions from payment of alien duties were a violation of the City's privileges, and in consequence Sir Robert Jeffery and the town clerk were directed to wait upon the Lord Chancellor and desire his intercession with the king in a direction unfavourable to the interests of the Jews. The wishes of the City were not gratified on this occasion, although, as we have seen, the desired end was attained two years later.

A *rapprochement* between the City and the Jews.

After this date, however, a more friendly feeling sprang up between the City authorities and the London Jewish community. An outward sign of it was the presentation of a piece of plate and a sum of fifty guineas to every Lord Mayor on his installation. The presentation was made on every occasion by a deputation of the leading Jews representing 'the Elders and Ministers of the Dutch and Portuguese Synagogues as a compliment for their protection', and was continued until 1780, when in lieu an extra allowance was made to the Lord Mayor by the Court of Aldermen.

Although in the matter of the alien duties the final measures

William III and the Jews.

adopted by the Government pressed very heavily on his Jewish subjects, William's attitude towards them on the whole was, if at all, little less favourable than that of his predecessors. It has been said that Dutch Jews were largely instrumental in furnishing the means that rendered his descent on England possible, and the Dutch Jewish financier, Francisco Lopez Suasso, Baron d'Avernas-le-Gras, who afterwards settled in England, has been singled out for mention as one who advanced large sums to William. The authority for this statement has, however, never been given, and no reference to it can be found in either the State records or in those of the Suasso family.

Immigration of Ashkenazim.

The Revolution undoubtedly gave a considerable impetus to Jewish immigration, at first from Holland and later from regions farther east, and from this period may be dated the beginning of the growth of the Ashkenazi community which was afterwards to cause the pioneer congregation, the Sephardim, to sink, in comparison of numbers, into insignificance. Some of these new-comers were of very definite benefit to the State. For instance, the Jewish merchants who accompanied William III transferred the bullion trade from Amsterdam to London.

Special taxation of the Jews.

In the years immediately following the Revolution the drain on the Exchequer was very considerable, and the Government suffered much anxiety in endeavouring to meet the expenditure. The position of the Jews being still somewhat abnormal, the idea occurred more than once that special taxation laid on Anglo-Jewry would be both justifiable and remunerative. In furtherance of this idea, a Bill was introduced into Parliament in 1689 for putting a tax of £100,000, one-twelfth of the ordinary revenue of the country, on the small community of Jews, for the purposes of the war. The opposition to it, which was not confined to Jews, was, however, so considerable that it was ultimately abandoned, not before fear had been expressed that the Jews would rather leave the country than pay the threatened imposition. In compensation presumably for the loss of the expected revenue a double poll-tax was imposed on the Jews, but after two years this was dropped.

In the petition of the Jews against the proposed burdensome imposition of 1689 certain information of interest regarding the size and composition of English Jewry was given. The Jews then numbered between sixty and eighty families in all, most of the merchants among them having been endenizened. About a fourth of the Jews of England were men of moderate estates, although one of them had paid £200,000 in Customs duties since the Restoration; a second fourth were men of smaller fortunes. The remainder were either employees or paupers maintained by their co-religionists. These merchants were engaged in exporting woollen manufactures and importing bullion and foreign staple merchandise. They had transferred the diamond market from Goa to the English factories in the East Indies. There were no shopkeepers among them, nor did any of them live outside of London and Westminster.

In the year 1690 a new means of obtaining funds from the Jews was discovered. A request had been made to them for a loan to the Government, but the response of £12,000 only was found disappointing. The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Secretary of State, thereupon instructed the Lord Mayor to send for the leading members of the community and to point out to them the 'obligations they are under to his Majesty for the liberty and privileges they enjoy, and how much it is to their advantage to make suitable returns of affection and gratitude for the kindness they have received and may expect'. The money was required for payment to Isaac Pereyra, a member of the community, who was acting as Commissary-General of the Army in Ireland, and his Majesty was sure that on second thoughts the Jews would raise their subscriptions to at least £20,000.

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CHAPTER XXIV

THE ASHKENAZIM

(1690–1764)

Ashkenazim in London.

ALTHOUGH the only Jewish settlers during the Commonwealth whose names have come prominently forward were of Sephardi origin, it must not be understood that the founders of the modern Anglo-Jewish community were derived solely from that branch of the Jewish race. The Ashkenazi [1] settlers differed in many respects from their Sephardi brethren. The latter were generally men of substance and of wealth, influential merchants, bringing considerable capital into the country. The Ashkenazim, on the other hand, were for the most part of a class of whom Menasseh ben Israel was thinking when he pleaded for the re-admission of the Jews into this country. The Cossack uprising of 1650 had driven Polish and Lithuanian Jews westward. The efforts of Menasseh were watched from the other shore of the North Sea by Polish-Jewish refugees, and although his failure compelled that generation to seek refuge elsewhere, sufficient of their compatriots finally settled on these shores to lay the foundations of the Ashkenazi community. The invasion of these poverty-stricken refugees was a source of some trouble to the Jewish community already established. Although they worshipped in their own synagogue and the more aristocratic Sephardim carefully prevented the admission of poor Ashkenazim into their community, the richer community was compelled to assist in supporting the burden of Ashkenazi poverty. The heaviness of this burden increased continually, so that there was at times a danger that the Sephardim would sink under it; but, as we have seen, at that point the City authorities stepped in. By their legislation the pressure was relieved, and of the 400 Jews in London in 1690 not more than half were in receipt of charitable relief.

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[1] Lit. *German*, but applied to all Jews worshipping in accordance with the 'German' ritual.

Benjamin Levy.

The earliest Ashkenazi settlers in England were, however, not all of this class, and one at least was in every respect worthy to be classed with the first of the Sephardim. The objection to the admission of Ashkenazim into the Sephardi community was even waived in the instance of Benjamin Levy (*d.* 1704), a merchant of Hamburg, who settled in this country about 1670. Levy was content to remain a member of this community for about twenty years, after which he joined with other Ashkenazim in establishing the first regular synagogue with the German ritual. Most of the founders of this synagogue, which was situated in Broad Court, Mitre Square, had come from or through Hamburg, and had created relations with the community of that city. The wealthier ones retained the connexion on their settlement in this country. Many of them remained members of the older congregation, and the lines on which the new London synagogue was established were copied from those that had proved of service in Hamburg. The founders were, however, not satisfied to take only their constitution from Hamburg. From the same city came in 1675 the first religious head of the Ashkenazi community in England in the person of Rabbi Jehuda Loeb ben Ephraim Anschel, who was thus the first rabbi of any standing of the Ashkenazi Jews of England. According to the constitution, the rabbi had considerable power in civil as well as in religious matters. His interest and support were consequently of considerable material value, and his resignation, which followed a few years after his appointment, was forced by a party in the congregation, headed by the *Parnas*[1] Abraham of Hamburg or Reb Aberle, who found it impossible to serve their own ends under his impartial and incorruptible administration. On leaving London, Jehudah was appointed Rabbi of Rotterdam.

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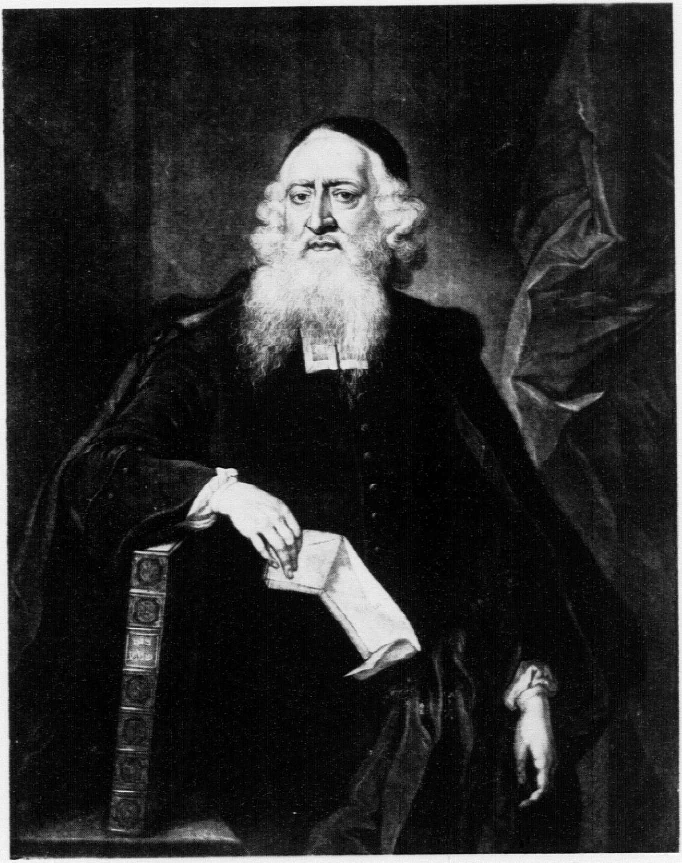
[1] President of the Congregation.

Rabbi Uri Phaibush (Aaron Hart).

His successor was Uri Phaibush (Aaron Hart) of Breslau (1670–1756), a brother of Moses Hart (*d.* 1756), cousin and partner of Benjamin Levy. Moses Hart was a leading member of the group that had been opposed to Rabbi Jehudah and had forced his resignation. From the appointment of Aaron Hart this group seems to have obtained control of the congregational affairs, and henceforth all offices in the congregation were filled by its members. In 1696 Benjamin Levy purchased a piece of land in the neighbourhood of Globe Road to serve as a burial-ground for the new congregation. The circumstances that led to the change in the rabbinate were not conducive to the smooth working of the affairs of the new community. Although one party had prevailed, the other had not been entirely subdued, and the latter was not slow to seize every opportunity to gain advantages, moral and material, in the long war that raged between them. Benjamin Levy considered himself above the petty quarrels of his relatives in the congregation, and for the most part kept aloof from synagogue affairs. The two parties were headed by Abraham of Hamburg, a man both rich and learned, and a supporter of Rabbi Phaibush, and Marcus Moses, a supporter of Rabbi Jehudah, and the son-in-law of Glueckel von Hameln, the German-Jewish female Pepys, respectively. In addition to the political reasons for an absence of sympathy between these two men, there were personal ones. Both were East India merchants and trade rivals. The dissatisfaction of the defeated party found expression in criticisms of the orthodoxy of the usurper. On many points complaints were made, and much annoyance caused to those in possession, who were unable to retaliate. Their opportunity, however, came when Marcus Moses sacrificed his discretion to his courage, and openly questioned the legality of a divorce granted by Aaron Hart. Although the Jewish layman is permitted to allow his talent for criticism to run to considerable lengths, the validity of a divorce is taboo. The offence of Marcus Moses was not overlooked, and, although he pleaded that an incorrect interpretation had been placed upon his remarks, sentence of excommunication was passed against him. To Moses the punishment was far more con-

A communal dispute.



RABBI AARON HART

Engraving by James McArdell, after B. Dandridge

siderable than mere exclusion from the synagogue. His business suffered, inasmuch as none of his co-religionists would conduct any transactions with him. Socially, also, he was shunned by those who had until recently been his friends.

A secession.

After ineffectual endeavours, with the support of the renowned Rabbi Zebi Ashkenazi of Hamburg, to obtain rescission of the obnoxious decree, Moses determined upon countermeasures. With the assistance of his friends Sampson Mears and Abraham Nathan, an opposition congregation was assembled in Marcus Moses' house in Magpye Alley. Jochanan Hölleschau, who had previously been a member of the London Beth Din, was appointed rabbi, and almost his first official act was to declare Moses free from the ban of excommunication passed on him. Moses then purchased a site for a new synagogue in St. Mary Axe. At this juncture the party of Aaron Hart took action. Appeal was made to Moses Hart, who had held aloof from the party disputes. The dangers of an independent congregation were magnified and emphasized. It was contended that the new congregation would prove an encouragement to pauper immigration, and that the existence of an unanglicized body of Jews outside the general community would prove harmful to the common weal. Negotiations were opened with the Sephardi community, and as a result Abraham Mendez, its president, joined with Moses Hart, in March 1704, in petitioning the Board of Aldermen to prevent the erection of the new edifice. After a short inquiry the Aldermen agreed to act in accordance with their petitioners' wishes, and an order was issued forbidding the erection.

This decision, however, did not cause the dispersion of the new congregation. It continued to meet in the house of Moses, and worshipped there for twenty-two years. In 1707 a site for a burial-ground was acquired in Hoxton. Rabbi Jochanan obtained the support of several eminent rabbis, among others Rabbi Jehudah Loeb Anschel, in his decision regarding the excommunication of Moses; and the synagogue became gradually known as the Hambro, either as the representative in London of the Hamburg tradition, or after Marcus Moses, otherwise Marcus Hamburger. The founder himself, having provided for his family and the congregation, left for the East. In 1721 he returned with a large fortune, and commenced to build a synagogue in the garden attached to his house in Magpye Alley. Once again the older Ashkenazi community joined with that of the Sephardim and intervened. The Corporation issued another fiat in support of the petitioners, but on this occasion Moses ignored all the efforts of his opponents, and the synagogue was completed in 1726.

The Hambro Synagogue.

The Duke's Place or Great Synagogue.

Four years earlier another Ashkenazi synagogue had been erected in the metropolis. The congregation that met in Broad Court had outgrown the accommodation—a private house—originally provided. A new building became an urgent necessity. Moses Hart was still the leading member of the congregation, and his liberality towards it was little less than that of Marcus Moses towards the rival body. His wealth had increased considerably during the twenty years that had passed, and his social status had been raised by Government office, in the reign of Queen Anne. The site chosen for the new building was in Duke's Place, Aldgate. The first wardens were Lazarus Simon, Isaac Franks, and Abraham Franks. Myer Polak was the treasurer. The establishment of this synagogue, serving as an attraction to the Jews of the Continent, still further increased the Jewish population of London. Ten years later, in 1732, a Talmud Torah School, the predecessor of the Jews' Free School, was established.

The beginnings of the Jews' Free School.

From the date of the establishment of the Great Synagogue, the Jewish population continued to increase, the persecutions in Bohemia in 1744 helping to swell the influx. In 1745 the first Ashkenazi charity was established—the *Hachnosath Berith.* Three years later the cemetery accommodation proving insufficient, a piece of ground was acquired for a burial-ground in Alderney Road, Mile End Road. In 1752 the three congregations joined forces to deal with a difficulty that threatened danger to both communities in common. Since the Re-Settlement in the middle of the seventeenth century all endeavours for the conversion of Christians to Judaism had been severely discouraged. It was a tradition that the return of the Jews to England had only been permitted

Conversion troubles.

by the English Government provided that no converts were made, and for almost two centuries after that date the synagogues invariably refused to receive into the community any Gentile, no matter how sincere was his desire to enter it. In the middle of the eighteenth century, however, some foreign Jews, settled temporarily in London, were making proselytes. On this coming to the ears of the synagogue authorities, joint action was taken by them, and the announcement was publicly made that any Jew guilty of such an offence would be expelled from his community and deprived of all the benefits and privileges that pertained to the Jewish religion. The London Jewish community had by that date grown to 8,000, a large proportion of them poor Jews who had come from Holland and Central Europe.

Rabbi Hirsch Löbel

Aaron Hart remained in office until his death in 1756. He was succeeded in the following year by Hirsch Löbel, or Lewin, a grandson of the renowned Rabbi Zebi Ashkenazi. Born in 1721, on attaining manhood, Löbel threw himself with zeal into the famous Eybeshutz controversy that centred round the alleged adherence of Rabbi Jonathan Eybeshutz to the pseudo-Messiah, Sabbathai Zevi. The notable part that Löbel took in this controversy was the direct cause of the call he received to London. His tenure of office was, however, by no means devoid of worry. Doubts were cast upon the correctness of the Sephardi Shechita,[1] and in the course of the controversy, one Jacob Kimchi declared that all the Sephardi Shochetim, or licensed slaughterers, were unfit to hold their offices. Failing in his efforts to secure a hearing from the authorities of the Sephardi community, he appealed to Rabbi Löbel, immediately on his arrival in London, for support. Rabbi Löbel did not share Kimchi's views, and the latter, who was a violent controversialist, immediately directed his attacks against the Ashkenazi rabbi. Kimchi was, moreover, still not satisfied and appealed to rabbinical authorities on the Continent, but without success. Löbel, who was also known as Hart Lyon, resigned his office in 1764 and retired to the Continent.

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[1] The ritual pertaining to the slaughter of animals for consumption by Jews.

Before that date, however, there had been another secession from the senior Ashkenazi congregation. This does not, however, appear to have been due to any disagreement. It was merely the natural outcome of the increase of the population and the pressure on the limited space provided in the two existing synagogues. In these circumstances some of the members of the existing congregations joined with others newly arrived, to establish a third Ashkenazi place of worship.

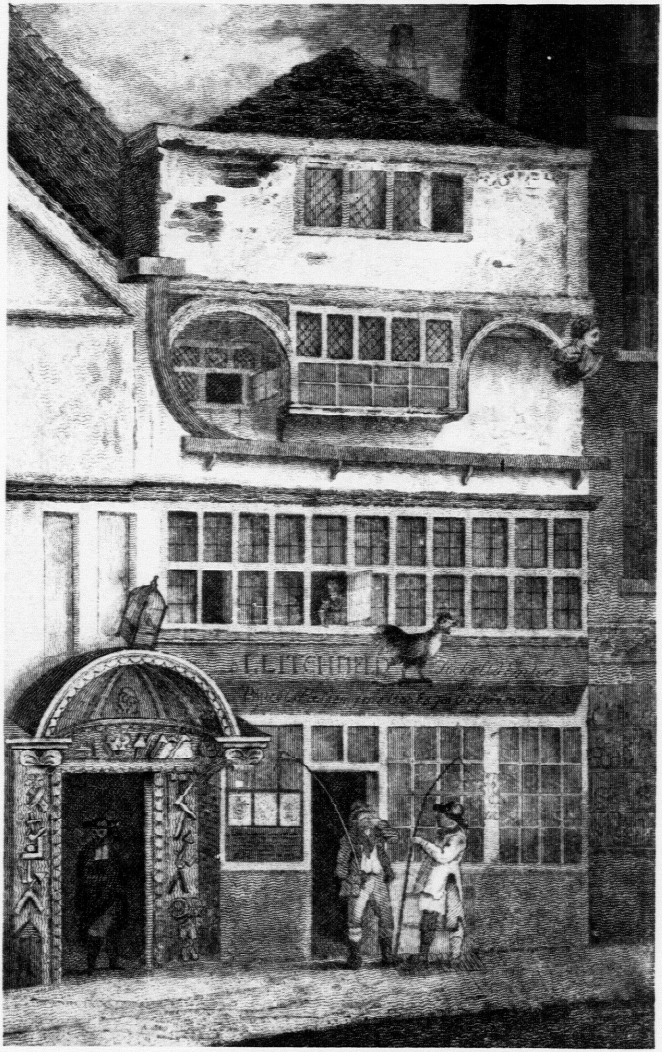
The New Synagogue.

This action aroused as much hostility as had the foundation of the Hambro Synagogue on a previous occasion. A meeting of the governing body of the chief synagogue was held on the 19th of August 1761, when it was resolved that: 'Whereas certain persons unworthy of our Countenance and Protection have lately form'd themselves into a society calling themselves a Congregation at Bricklayers Hall, we do hereby strictly Charge our priest now and hereafter that he does not directly or indirectly or other in his name or with his Knowledge and Permission, officiate either Publick or private in the services of Marriages, Burials, Circumcission or any other act of priesthood for any person whatever belonging to the said society. And to prevent inocent persons from Unverity joyning that society we Order that this resolution be read publickly two Sabbaths successively in our Synagogue so that non may plead ignorance thereof.'

The resolution was also communicated to the authorities of the Bevis Marks Synagogue, who were desired to take similar action. So far, however, as the new congregation was concerned, these resolutions passed unheeded. The following year the erection of a building to accommodate the seceders was commenced and was completed in due course. For a long period the relations between the New Synagogue and the older congregations were strained, but all continued to prosper, and in the course of time the gulfs between them were bridged. At the same time as the establishment of the New Synagogue, the synagogue of the original congregation was enlarged in order to afford sufficient accommodation for its growing congregation.

The beginnings of provincial Jewry.

While the rich Sephardi merchants settled almost exclusively in the metropolis, the provincial congregations were founded,


I. LITCHFIELD

THE NEW SYNAGOGUE IN LEADENHALL STREET

Engraving after the drawing by J. Nixon

almost without exception, by Ashkenazim with limited resources, who settled wherever they saw opportunities for earning a livelihood. Thus by the beginning of the eighteenth century most of the ports, especially those on the south and west coasts, possessed a sprinkling of Jews. The poorer members of these communities were pedlars, and obtained their stocks from their more prosperous co-religionists, who were shopkeepers. In this manner Jewish communities were established during the eighteenth century at Portsmouth, Falmouth, Bristol, Plymouth, Hull, Yarmouth, and Liverpool. These pedlars, as they became more prosperous, themselves set up as shopkeepers in towns in the centres of the districts they had hitherto served. Thus communities also sprang up in Exeter, Bath, Birmingham, Canterbury, Cheltenham, Coventry, King's Lynn, and Norwich. The influx of destitute alien Jews into London during the eighteenth century assisted the tendency that had shown itself in all parts of the country. The problem that faced the Ashkenazi community of the metropolis was dealt with by means of dispersion. Pedlars were not only sent inland from the coast towns, London was also in many instances their head-quarters, and from that centre they went as far afield as Lancashire and Northumberland.

Dispersion of immigrants.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE COLONIES

(1625–1800)

ALTHOUGH at the time of Menasseh ben Israel's embassy, re-admission to England had not yet been gained for the Jews, and no Jew as such had the right of residence within the country, in other parts of the British dominions other conditions prevailed.

Barbados, the first English colony to admit Jews.

The island of Barbados was the first colony in which undisguised Jews settled. Discovered by the English in 1605, it was settled by them twenty years later, and Jews are generally supposed to have been among the earliest colonists. Three years later, in 1628, it is certain that there were some Jewish inhabitants. They were among the pioneers of sugar-planting. As compared with other states and colonies, there was practically no anti-Jewish discrimination practised in the island, the disabilities under which the Jews lay being few and of little consequence. In 1656 the Jewish inhabitants were benefited by the grant of the privileges of 'Laws and Statutes of Ye Commonwealth of England and of this Island, relating to foreigners and strangers', and five years later letters of denization were granted to several Jewish residents. The dissolution of the Jewish community in Cayenne led to an immigration into the island, whose Jewish population was thus increased. The prosperity of these settlers progressed to such an extent that jealousies were aroused, and endeavours were made to obtain legal restrictions on their commercial activities. These efforts were, however, unavailing; and, on the other hand, during the governorship of Lord Willoughby, in 1671, the free exercise of their religion without

Status of the colonial Jews.

any restrictions was granted. About this time Jews began to arrive in relatively large numbers. At the same time the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, objectionable on account of their wording, were dispensed with in the case of the endenization of Jews. Two years previously the Jews of Barbados had petitioned for their evidence taken on the Pentateuch to be accepted in courts of law. Their inability to take the ordinary oath had in the past rendered impossible the acceptance of their evidence, when either party to the suit was a non-Jew, although their oath appears to have been freely accepted in courts of law during the Protectorate. At the same time objections were stated against the endeavours, to which allusion has already been made, to restrict their trade. The petition was supported by the Governor and granted by the King in Council, but no action was taken on it for five years. In 1674 the local legislature allowed the oath to be taken on the Pentateuch, and evidence to be given only in cases relating to 'trade and dealings and not otherwise', but this Act soon became a dead letter. The following year an unsuccessful attempt was made to extend this permission to cover all legal proceedings. This benevolent treatment suffered a slight reaction in 1679, when the jealousy of the rival merchants induced the Assembly to pass an Act restraining the Jews from keeping or trading with negroes.

Restrictive laws and their removal.

The year 1681 was one of several other anti-Jewish petitions, and of a presentment of the Grand Jury against 'the evil done to the island by vagrant and poor Jews'. This movement was without success, but seven years later the undenizened Jews were discriminated against. The restrictive Act of this year remained in force until 1756. From 1666 to 1680, and again from 1756 to 1761, special taxes were levied on the Jews, on the former occasion in the form of sugar. A period of prosperity then followed, marked only in 1786 by the legalization of the oath of Jews on all occasions in courts of law, in 1802 by the removal of all political disabilities, and in 1820 by the conferment by Parliament of political advantages over the remainder of the population. In the last-mentioned year the Jews were allowed to choose five representatives to determine the share of the taxation of the island that should be levied on them.

The conquest of Jamaica.

The conquest of Jamaica by Cromwell in 1655 found Jews resident there for more than thirty years. As in Barbados they were among the pioneers of sugar-planting in the island. Jamaica had been given to the family of Columbus, and by marriage brought into the possession of the Braganzas, who afterwards ascended the throne of Portugal. Columbus was favourably disposed towards the Jews, and, excluding the Inquisition from the island, rendered their settlement easy. Jamaica, thus nominally under the crown of Spain, was still to some extent autonomous and Portuguese, and it was under these conditions that Jews first found themselves in the island. The conquest by the English led to the expulsion of the Spanish settlers. Similar treatment would probably have been meted out to the Portuguese, and with them the Jews (reputed Portuguese), if the hostility between the Spanish and Portuguese had not been so keen as to render impossible the withdrawal of the latter to Cuba. Without a near refuge elsewhere the Portuguese were suffered to remain in the island, and consequently the new English Government, immediately on the occupation, found Jews among its subjects.

Jamaica under Cromwell and Charles II.

The presence of Jews in the island was considered by Cromwell an important factor in the furtherance of his colonial policy. In his organization of the colony he received valuable assistance from Simon de Caceres, the colleague of Carvajal. The Restoration made little difference in the condition of the Jews in Jamaica. Their numbers increased and they continued to flourish. Some of them were engaged in retail trade, but the majority were wholesale merchants, and the greater portion of the trade with the Spanish Main was in their hands. During the term of office of Governor Molesworth, the settlers received permission to erect a synagogue.

As in Barbados, however, the commercial success of the Jews aroused jealousy among their neighbours. In the year 1671 the English merchants petitioned the Council of the Colony for the expulsion of the Jews. The petition was in due course transmitted to England, but Governor Lynch in forwarding it argued strongly against it, and paid a striking tribute to the value of the Jews to the colony. The views of the governor were adopted by the King in Council, and the result of the petition was a recommendation that steps should be taken to encourage the settlement of still more Jews in the island.

Jewish colonists welcomed.

This desire for further Jewish colonists was satisfied by immigrations from Brazil and Surinam. The former colony had fluctuated between Portuguese and Dutch ownership, and the Jews who had settled there and thrown off their masks under the latter were compelled to leave their homes when the Portuguese returned. Many of them came to the English colonies and of these Jamaica received her share.

In Surinam.

Jews seem to have first settled in Surinam in 1644,[1] eighteen years before Lord Willoughby received permission from Charles II to establish an English colony there. In his government Lord Willoughby recognized no difference between Jew and Christian, and the Portuguese Jews whom he found there were given the same privileges as the English colonists. The dissolution of the Dutch colony of Cayenne in 1664 led to a Jewish immigration into Surinam, and there the Jews remained under easy conditions until 1675, when the colony passed into the possession of the Dutch. The new Government continued the policy of its predecessor, but many of the Jews, having once tasted English rule, seemed desirous of retaining it, and sought a new home elsewhere under the English flag. So valuable, however, were the Jews considered, that the Dutch refused them permission to depart, and the English Government was compelled specifically to demand them as English subjects. This was probably the first official recognition in foreign relations of Jews as British subjects. The cession of 1675 was, however, not permanent, for the colony alternated between Dutch and English rule over a long period. At one time Surinam was exchanged with the Dutch for New Amsterdam, since known as New York. Nor did all the Jewish settlers reject Dutch rule. Many privileges were granted to the Jewish

Jews recognized as British subjects in Surinam.

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[1] The earliest date suggested is 1632.

colonists, especially when the English were in control. As early as 1665 they were allowed a court of justice of first instance for civil cases, and they were exempted from prosecution by their creditors on the high festivals. It was specifically stated in a Government proclamation that immediately on reaching the colony 'every person belonging to the Hebrew nation . . . shall possess and enjoy every liberty and privilege possessed by, and granted to, the citizens and inhabitants of the colony, and shall be considered as English-born'. It was decreed that they should not be compelled to serve in any public office; their persons and their property were placed under the special protection of the Government; they were permitted to practise their religion without hindrance, and land was assigned to them for the erection of synagogues and schools, and for use as a cemetery. All these advantages were granted, 'whereas we have found that the Hebrew nation . . . have . . . proved themselves useful and beneficial to the colony'.

In Jamaica.

Despite the somewhat satisfactory position that the Jews held in the island of Jamaica, attempts at persecution were not entirely wanting. In 1681 an endeavour to effect their expulsion was made by the Council of the Island, on the ground that the Jews were the 'descendants from the crucifiers of the blessed Jesus'. The crown ignored both the request and the reason for it, but the special taxes levied on the Jews, on the ground of their wealth, were continued. Another reason given for this exceptional taxation was the exemption of the Jews from many public duties and consequent expenses. It was suggested that these exemptions were beneficial rather than of the nature of disabilities. The Jews were at that time excluded from all public office, denied the elective franchise, disqualified from serving on juries, and debarred from the privilege of purchasing white servants. Permission was, however, given them to erect synagogues.

Excessive taxation imposed on the Jews of Jamaica.

The twofold burden of special taxation and the restriction of privileges was not borne by the community in silence. Petitions against the taxes were sent up every year and invariably rejected. The fiscal burdens, instead of being diminished, were increased, with the result that, by the opening of the eighteenth century, the bulk of the taxation of the colony was paid by the small Jewish population. On the other hand, the greater portion of the industry and the commerce was in the hands of that section. In 1711 the Jews suffered a further disability by being prohibited, in common with mulattoes, Indians, and negroes, from being employed in any of the offices created by the Act of that year. In 1702, however, a new demand was preferred by the Jews of the colony, that of the right to vote at elections for the Assembly. The petition and remonstrance were declared to be ' erroneous, false, and scandalous ', and a proposal was even made to punish the petitioners by imprisonment. A lighter sentence, however, took its place —a fine on the community of £2,000. Before ten years had passed a less intolerant policy began to gain acceptance. In 1711 the question of the admission of Jews to the elective franchise was considered, and a Bill to that effect was introduced into the Assembly. That body, however, amended it so as to prevent the election of Jews, and, in the dispute between the two houses that ensued, the proposed measure was abandoned.

Abolition of the special taxes in Jamaica, 1736.

By 1736 the strength of the Jewish case in regard to special taxation was acknowledged, and the governor received instructions not to assent to any Bill in which such taxation was continued. The Assembly, however, was not in the mood to agree to any such alteration in policy, and a lengthy dispute, in the course of which the Assembly was prorogued three times, ensued before the objectionable clauses were omitted from the Bill. During the course of the dispute the Jewish community showed itself in a very favourable light, by voluntarily raising the sum of £1,000 towards the expenditure of the year, in order that they might not be the cause of a rupture between the governor and the Assembly. When the taxation was finally abolished in 1741, and then only under strong pressure by the Home Government, it became the practice to give annual presents to the governor and to certain of his officers.

The middle of the eighteenth century saw the Jewish Question again a burning one in the island. Basing their claim on the Act of the British Parliament of 1740, the Jews of Jamaica demanded enfranchisement. The community, however, was not unanimous in the matter, and all applications for votes on the part of the Jews were without exception refused. Their economic position was by then so strong that they practically monopolized the trade in sugar, rum and molasses. Henceforth the outer history of Jamaican Jewry had few incidents. As in other parts of the world, the community has made it a rule to support its own poor. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, on the ground of the refusal of certain members to contribute to the funds for the benefit of the poor, the heads of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue petitioned the Assembly to compel the defaulting members to take their share of the burden. A Bill was introduced for this purpose, but it was rejected, and nothing more was heard of the matter.

In the other islands.

From the end of the seventeenth century Jews were found scattered throughout the other West Indian possessions of England, but in small numbers. Occasional references to them are to be found in the records. For instance, in 1694 an Act was adopted by Parliament for the purpose of preventing the Jews from engrossing commodities imported into the Leeward Islands. On the petition of the Jews it was repealed seven years later, on the promise that in case of war they would assist in the defence of the islands. In the Bermudas the Jews were for a time also subject to special taxation.

In North America.

The date of the first organized settlement on the North American continent is generally given as 1654, when a number of Dutch Jews landed in the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, now New York, to be followed a few months later (in 1655) by co-religionists who had left Brazil on its evacuation by the Dutch. Before this immigration, scattered Jews were to be found occasionally on the mainland, notably in Maryland, where one was convicted of blasphemy in 1658, and in 1652 it is stated that a colony of Jewish soldiers and sailors was sent to New Amsterdam by the Dutch West India Company. About the same date Jews first arrived in the English colony of Rhode Island, where the most tolerant government then existing was to be found. In that colony all comers, no matter of what nationality, were accorded the same rights and privileges as Englishmen, and, in fact, were granted naturalization immediately on touching the soil of the colony.

In New York.

In 1664 New Amsterdam passed under the dominion of the English and became New York. The status of the Jews, which had been quite satisfactory, remained the same under the new Government. The colony was entrusted to the Duke of York, who appointed the governors, and it was at the time his policy, as it was that of Charles II, to grant as wide a religious toleration as possible to Christians of all denominations. Consequently the Duke's laws, promulgated in 1665, ordained that no professing Christian should be molested on account of his religious views. Nine years later this tolerance was extended to 'all persons of what Religion so ever', so long as they did not disturb the public peace or molest others in the free exercise of their religion, and it was then that the Jews of New York first held public worship. In 1672 the courts decided that legislation against aliens did not apply to American Jews.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the legal disabilities under which the Jews of New York laboured were increased. In 1683 an Act was passed by the Colonial Assembly for the naturalization of foreigners, from the benefits of which the Jews, as non-Christians, were excluded. Two years later the petition of the Jewish residents for permission to hold public worship was rejected by the Mayor and Common Council of New York, to whom it had been referred by the governor, Dongan, and, in the same year, the precedent set in the West Indies was followed by the prohibition to engage in retail trade. But this last prohibition was not very strictly enforced, and gradually lapsed. The refusal of religious liberty was reversed in 1686, after the accession of James II, and the synagogue which had been erected in New York in 1682 and was opened in consequence of this change of policy, was the first on the North American continent. The civil, as distinct from the political, situation of the Jews, both in England and in the colonies, was so comfortable towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the results of the liberal policy were so satisfactory, that this policy was quoted by William Penn as

First North American synagogue.

an argument in favour of the acceptance by the nation of the larger scheme of tolerance that James placed before it.

Under the Constitution of South Carolina, drafted by John Locke at the end of the seventeenth century, it was laid down that any seven persons were authorized to form a religious community. Under these conditions Jews settled freely and acquired rights as denizens.

The question of naturalization in New York.

For the next forty years the Jewish communities in North America had no external history. In 1715 legislation for the naturalization in New York of alien residents enacted that all aliens who were in residence in the colony before the 1st of November 1683 should become naturalized without any formalities, but forbade the naturalization of foreign Jews who had settled in the colony subsequent to that date. Eight years later, in 1723, an Act was passed naturalizing certain aliens—six Jews—but nothing appears in the statute providing for the omission by the naturalized Jews of the obnoxious phrase, ' upon the true faith of a Christian ', from the necessary oath. In 1727 the General Assembly of New York adopted legislation omitting the phrase from the oath of abjuration when taken by any of His Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion.

Meanwhile it seemed that some Jews had become accustomed to exercise the elective franchise, and had voted in elections to the legislature. These illegal acts became known in the course of the discussion of a disputed election in 1737. The immediate question before the House was the legality of the votes of Jews in the case, and on both questions it decided against the Jewish claims. The precedents in Great Britain were quoted, and it was unanimously decided that the disqualification that held good in England also had the force of law in the North American colonies.

In Canada.

The first Jews settled in Canada at the time of its conquest in 1760, although there is an occasional mention of a Jew or Jewess in the records earlier. Among the earliest known, all merchants of means, were David Franks and other members of his family, Aaron Hart, Isaac Miranda, Emanuel de Cordova, Hananiel Garcia, all of whom held commissions or were otherwise connected with the invading forces, Samuel Judah, Lazarus David, Levy Solomons, Samuel Jacobs, and others. By these the beginnings of Jewish communities were made in Three Rivers, Montreal, Quebec, and elsewhere. Several of these pioneers did not remain long in Canada, but removed farther south, whence some of them had come. The first Jewish congregation, a Sephardi one, was formed at Montreal in 1768. It was directly under the spiritual control of the Haham of London. A cemetery was purchased seven years later.

The first Jewish congregation in Canada.

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CHAPTER XXVI

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE GEORGIA SETTLEMENT

(1655–1750)

THE loosely defined status of the Jews who settled in this country under the later Stuarts led, as we have already seen, to numerous incidents that threatened trouble to the small community. Under the powerful protection of the Government the Jews, whenever attacked, had little difficulty in defending the security of their position. The inhabitants of London, however, lived under a dual government. In addition to the powers wielded by the Government of the country, there were those of the City municipality, and these were so formidable that when they were directed against the Jewish population its position was most adversely affected and its stability endangered.

The City and the Jews.

Under the several charters that the City possessed it was able to keep Jews perpetually out of the freedom, and without the freedom of the City, men were debarred from retail trading, from the plying of handicrafts, from the transaction of business on exchange, and from other almost indispensable privileges. As merchant strangers the Jews of the Re-Settlement could only deal in wholesale, and that subject to restrictions. The unique position, however, that the Jews held in English trade in the middle of the seventeenth century, and the considerable benefit they were thereby acknowledged to confer upon the country, rendered a change in their status inevitable. As early as 1657 a Jew, Solomon Dormido, a nephew of Menasseh ben Israel, applied to the Court of Aldermen for admission as a broker, and, despite innumerable disquali-

Solomon Dormido admitted as a City broker.

fications, he was admitted. His example was followed with like success by others, David Aboab in 1671, Samuel de Caceres in 1674, Moses Barrow in 1679, Isaac Lindo, Joseph Ferdinando (a son of Antonio Carvajal), and Samuel Sasportas (a son of the Haham). A group of Jewish brokers gradually collected, and congregating in a particular portion of the Exchange, as other groups did, their corner soon became known as the 'Jewes Walk'.

Jewish brokers limited to twelve.

The laxity in the manner of the admission of the brokers, however, led to many abuses, so that in 1697 the Corporation applied for, and obtained, parliamentary powers 'for restraining the number and ill-practices of brokers and stock-jobbers'. The committee appointed to reorganize the Exchange drew up new rules, in accordance with which membership was limited to a hundred English brokers, twelve aliens, and twelve Jews. These last named were excused from obtaining the freedom before admission to the Exchange, and the necessary oath was modified to meet their religious scruples. The Jews were further ordered to provide themselves with silver medals. The first twelve Jewish brokers were Moses Barrow, David de Ffaro, Benjamin Nunes, Samuel de Caceres, Elias Lindo, Abraham de Payba, Jacob Arias, David Avila, Joseph Ferdinando, Abraham Ffrancke, Benjamin Levy, and Elias Paz. This was the first grant of freemen's privileges to Dissenters and non-freemen that the Corporation made. It placed the Jews in a better position than that of the alien Protestants, and when, in 1708, the authorities of the Dutch and French Churches protested against the preference and demanded similar privileges for their own members, the Court of Aldermen refused to make any departure from the rules laid down in 1697.

In 1720 another unsuccessful endeavour was made to interfere with the admission of Jews as brokers. In that year a petition was presented to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen objecting to the admission of a Jew on several grounds. Among them were the absence from the Act of 1697 of all reference to Jews, and the immunity of the Jews, as non-freemen, from the liability to pay scott and lott, or otherwise to contribute to the public charge.

The Act of 1698, the Lords' amendment.

Frequently towards the close of the seventeenth century the Jewish settlers came under the notice of Parliament. For instance, in 1698 the Legislature had under consideration a Bill 'for the more effectual suppressing of Blasphemy and Profaneness'. This measure proposed to enact that any person educated in or having made profession of the Christian religion who might deny the divinity of any of the persons in the Holy Trinity, or assert that there were more gods than one, or deny the truth of the Christian religion or the divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, should be liable to punishment. The House of Lords proposed to amend the Bill by the omission of the words 'having been educated in or at any time having made profession of the Christian religion', the effect being to render every Jew in the kingdom liable to the pains and penalties laid down in the Bill. When the measure, however, was returned to the House of Commons, objection was raised to the amendment on the ground that it would 'subject the Jews who live amongst us to all the Pains and Penalties contained in the Bill; which must therefore, of necessity, ruin them, and drive them out of the Kingdom; and cannot be thought was the intention of your Lordships, since here they have the means and opportunities to be informed of and rightly instructed in the principles of the true Christian religion'. The Lords apparently had no such intention, and on the representations of the other House willingly abandoned the suggested amendment. Another Act of Parliament of this period enabled a criminal prosecution to be brought against Jews who should obtain proselytes from Christianity.

Proselytism, a crime.

The measure affecting the Jews, however, that is best known is that entitled 'An Act to oblige Jews to maintain and provide for their Protestant children', adopted in the first year of the reign of Anne. The avowed purpose of this measure was to assist the conversion of the Jews to the religion of the country. It provided that 'to the end that sufficient maintenance be provided and allowed for the children of Jewish parents who shall turn Protestant be it enacted . . . that if any Jewish parent in order to the compelling of his or her Protestant child to change his or her religion shall refuse to allow such child a

The Act of 1702.

fitting maintenance . . . it shall be lawful for the Lord Chancellor . . . to make such order therein for the maintenance of such Protestant child, as he . . . shall think fit'.

Jews permitted to hold land.

Another doubt concerning the status of the Jews in England was removed by an opinion of the Attorney-General, Sir Robert Raymond, in 1718. He was asked to state whether or not a Jew born in England but of foreign parentage could purchase and enjoy an estate in fee. His opinion was that such a Jew was fully capable of purchasing and enjoying the lands, and that the law had put no disability upon him on account of his religion. He went further and said that in respect of the matters under consideration the Jews' position was so satisfactory that it would not be improved by denization. This decision obtained definite confirmation a few years later. An Act of Parliament, passed in the year 1722, required all persons in possession of real estate to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. The latter oath concluded with the words 'on the true faith of a Christian' and Jews were consequently unable to accept it. To remedy this state of affairs a further Act was adopted in the following session. This made provision for the omission of the objectionable words when the oath was taken by a Jew. In the discussion in Parliament it was suggested that the clause was unnecessary, inasmuch as Jews were debarred from holding land. The opinions of the leading lawyers of the day were obtained on the point, and they were unanimously in favour of the opinion already given by Raymond. As a result the Bill was adopted.

Anti-Jewish libels.

Although at this period Parliament was so careful of Jewish susceptibilities, in that respect it was not altogether representative of the nation. The nation had not yet moved from the position that rendered possible the legislation of the first year of the reign of Anne. No legal persecution of the Jews was then existing in England, but the populace, roused by agitators, found other means of giving full play to their prejudice. In 1732 a paper was published by one Osborne accusing Jews of being accustomed to murder those who married outside the community. One definite instance was quoted, and it was said that the woman and her child had been murdered by Jews lately arrived from Portugal and living near Broad Street. The publication roused the populace, who attacked all Jews who fitted the description given. Mobs were abroad in several parts of the City. At this juncture proceedings were taken against Osborne in the Court of King's Bench, and, despite the defence that no particular Jews could show that they were pointed at more than any others, the accused was found guilty on the ground that the whole community of Jews had been attacked.

An emigration scheme.

The creation of a chartered company under James Oglethorpe, for the purpose of emigrating needy and respectable families to the American continent, and forming of them a colony between the Altemaha and Savannah rivers, directed the attention of the Sephardi community of London to the possibilities of the colonies as a solution of the difficulties arising out of the continued immigration from Eastern Europe. The continual influx of poor Ashkenazi Jews had long been a source of anxiety to the leaders of the community, and many efforts had been made to deal with it. The governing body of the Georgia Company numbered twenty-one trustees. The funds at their disposal consisted partly of a parliamentary grant and partly of donations from private individuals. These latter were obtained through honorary agents acting under the commission of the Council, and among the agents were three leading members of the Sephardi community of London, Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador, and Anthony da Costa. To Suasso, who was one of the wealthiest men of his day, reference has already been made. Salvador was at the time one of the directors of the Dutch East India Company, the first Jew to hold such a position. He was a prominent financier, and his charities were famous. The firm of Francis and Joseph Salvador (they were known in the community as Jessurun Alvarez) became after the death of Sampson Gideon the leading English financiers of the day. The Salvadors were not only prominent in general public life, they also took an influential part in the affairs of the community. The Salvador family was already interested in American enterprises, and owned large tracts of land in South Carolina. In later years they suffered con-

The Salvador family.

siderable financial losses, in consequence of the earthquake at Lisbon and the failure of the Dutch East India Company. In 1773 a Francis Salvador of a later generation emigrated to South Carolina, leaving his wife and four children in London. The American colonies were then on the threshold of revolution, and Salvador entered heartily into their cause. He was an active member of the Commons House of Assembly and of the first and second Provincial Congresses of South Carolina, and took his share in the warlike measures that ensued on the determination to oppose the attempts of the mother-country. Three years later, at the early age of twenty-nine, Salvador was killed in battle with the Indians, whom the English had induced to attack the colonists. Da Costa was the first Jewish director of the Bank of England.

Francis Salvador and the American Revolution.

The sums collected by these gentlemen, for the most part from co-religionists, should in the ordinary course have been handed over to the Company. Instead of doing so, however, Suasso and his colleagues appear to have devoted them to the emigration to the new colony, of destitute Jews who had arrived in England. The trustees, strongly disapproving of this action, demanded the return of the commissions issued to the three Sephardim. They contended that not only had Suasso and his colleagues exceeded their powers, and violated the instructions that had accompanied their commissions, but their intentions, if consummated, would have proved harmful to the best interests of the colony and the trust. The commissioners at first refused to comply with the demand and persisted in their course. After considerable correspondence and the lapse of several months, however, the commissions were surrendered.

Meanwhile the first batch of settlers under Oglethorpe had hardly reached the Savannah River when an unexpected vessel arrived with forty Jews on board. This company consisted of people of two descriptions. The one, for the most part Sephardim, came out as ordinary colonists at their own expense. The second comprised assisted Ashkenazi emigrants. Oglethorpe had not been advised of the sailing of this batch of emigrants, a third of the whole number of the first colonists, and was somewhat at a loss how to deal with them. According

Jewish colonists arrive at Savannah.

Oglethorpe's treatment of the emigrants.

to the charters, freedom of religious opinion and observance was guaranteed to all except Papists. The governor therefore, after consideration, determined to receive the new colonists, and at the same time informed the trustees of their arrival. The Board in London did not receive the news with pleasure. A pamphlet was prepared in order to assure the public that it was not the intention 'to make a Jews' colony of Georgia', and complaint was made that the unauthorized action of the Trust's commissioners had not only prejudicially affected the colony, but had turned aside many intended benefactions. To Oglethorpe the trustees wrote in a similar sense, and he was instructed to give the new arrivals no encouragement whatever, and by no means to allow them any settlement among the grantees. Oglethorpe, however, was more liberal-minded than his fellow trustees, and ignored their instructions. Jewish names appear in the earliest lists of those to whom grants of land were made. In the month of the arrival of the forty settlers a congregation was formed and divine service held. The Jewish settlement proved of great value to the colony, into which viniculture was introduced by one of its members, Abraham de Lyon; another acclimatized the silk industry, while the services of a third, Dr. Nunes, in attending the sick were highly appreciated, not only by the governor, but also by the London Board. The first white child born in the colony—in 1734—was a Jew. When a large proportion of the Jewish colony withdrew, temporarily as subsequently transpired, to South Carolina a few years later, Georgia felt their loss severely.

A congregation formed.

Contemporary with this Jewish influx into the New World and closely connected with it was a similar movement within the Sephardi community. That congregation appointed, in 1734, a committee, possibly consisting also of Salvador, Suasso, and Da Costa, to apply for grants for an exclusively Jewish settlement in Georgia. This application was not granted, but three years later land was offered for a similar purpose in Carolina. In 1745 the committee was still in existence, and obtained an extension of its powers, and three years later John Hamilton, an irresponsible philanthropically disposed financier,

Other schemes for Jewish immigration into America.

entered into negotiations with the committee with a view to settling Jews in South Carolina. For this purpose he petitioned the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs for a grant of 200,000 acres in that colony. The application was entertained, but mutually satisfactory conditions could not be agreed upon, and the whole scheme was dropped. In 1750 a number of London Jews settled in South Carolina, not as assisted emigrants or in a body, but merely as individual settlers.

In 1749 a new colonization plan was suggested. Nova Scotia was the locality in favour on this occasion, and poor families were enjoined to proceed thither. To induce them to do so an offer was made of three years' charitable allowances, but none seems to have availed himself of it.

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE NATURALIZATION CONTROVERSY

(1690–1753)

ALTHOUGH the community as a whole kept very much to itself during the two centuries that succeeded the Re-Settlement, from time to time throughout that period one of its members would become well known far beyond the walls of Bevis Marks. Such happened at the opening of the new era to Carvajal, Simon de Caceres, Augustine Coronel, and others. Under William and Mary, Suasso became famous in political and financial circles, and in the following reign Sir Solomon Medina (' the Jew Medina ') was, to the outside world, the leading Jew of his day. Following William III to England, Medina became the great army contractor in the wars that succeeded his arrival. For his services he was knighted, being the first professing Jew to receive that honour, but his chief title to notoriety consisted in the charges preferred against him, and more or less proved, of having bribed, on an extensive scale, the great Duke of Marlborough. A contemporary of Medina, Menasseh Lopez, was also one of the most prominent financiers of his day.

Sir Solomon Medina.

Sampson Gideon.

In that department of activity, however, the leading member of the community was undoubtedly Sampson Gideon, known in the synagogue as Sampson de Rehuel Abudiente (1699–1762). The son of a West Indian merchant, who was also engaged in business in the City, Gideon, by a remarkable display of sagacity, judgment, and courage, succeeded in raising himself from very modest beginnings to the position of trusted adviser of the Government, a landowner, and the founder of a noble house. With Walpole Gideon was on terms

Gideon and the English Government.

of intimate friendship. He was his adviser in all financial transactions. Under the later Government of Pelham, when, in 1743 and 1744, the French fleet held the Channel, Gideon's aid and advice were even more valuable. The following year, that of the invasion of the Young Pretender, panic seized all classes in London, and conditions in the City seemed almost more fraught with danger to the State than the invasion of its territories. At this crisis Gideon was one of the few who lost neither their heads nor their faith. He freely lent his property and his credit to the Government, and raised a loan of £1,700,000 for their assistance. Henceforth the Government invariably consulted Gideon in financial matters, and he, on his part, devoted himself almost entirely to the welfare of the State.

The Jews and the South Sea Bubble and the Forty-five.

In an earlier crisis, that of the South Sea Bubble, Gideon was also among the few who were not carried away by the whirlwind of speculative excitement, and consequently stood clear of the crash that succeeded. The Jews, as a whole, stood aside from the wild speculations of the time, and were among the few whose fortunes passed through the ordeal unimpaired. In the Forty-five the example set by Gideon was followed by all classes of his co-religionists. The lower classes enlisted in numbers in the City Militia, and willingly bore arms in defence of the *status quo*. The more prosperous members of the community formed associations with the same object, while those whose situations made them more useful in following their own callings, promoted in every way whatever was considered most serviceable to the Government. The run on the Bank of England was stopped by the confidence aroused at the sight of the continuous supply of specie poured into its coffers by Jewish merchants.

Patriotic Finance.

The danger caused by the public offer of bank-notes at sale at a discount was met by an association of twelve eminent merchants, two of whom were Jews, who undertook to accept them, whenever offered, at their face value. These twelve immediately obtained the support of all the best elements in the population, and the Jews, to a man, joined the association. The Government was in want of funds, and it was determined to raise a loan on the land tax at less than the standard rate of interest. One-fourth of the loan was immediately taken up by the Jews. Two members of the community had two vessels in the river ready laden for foreign ports. As soon as it was known that the Government was in need of ships, these vessels were placed unconditionally at the disposal of the State. The patriotic action of the Jews of England in this crisis did not pass unrecognized. When calm was once more restored, it was resolved to present an address to the king, and the small deputation that represented the merchants of London on the occasion included a member of the Jewish community.

A Naturalization Act.

Five years earlier a long step in the journey towards full English citizenship was taken by the passage through Parliament without opposition of an 'Act for naturalizing such foreign Protestants, and others therein mentioned, as are settled or shall settle, in any of His Majesty's Colonies in America'. Before the seventh year of the reign of James I, it was possible for a Jew to acquire civil status in England in the same manner as any other alien—that is to say ,by naturalization by Act of Parliament. Legislation in 1609, although directed against Catholics, at the same time excluded Jews from the privilege of naturalization, inasmuch as it made the acceptance of the sacrament an indispensable condition. In 1663 the law was altered slightly by the provision that any foreigner who should engage for three years in hemp, flax, or cotton manufacture, should enjoy the privileges of natural-born subjects upon taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance.

Jews and the Act of 1740.

Two sections of the Naturalization Act of 1740 dealt specifically with the case of Jews. In Section II, 'such who profess the Jewish religion' were exempted from the necessity of receiving the sacrament as a preliminary to the act of naturalization. In Section III the same persons were allowed to omit the phrase 'upon the true faith of a Christian' when taking the oath of abjuration. Beyond those immediately affected by it the measure aroused little interest, and for thirteen years its working proved as smooth as its passage had been. Nearly 200 Jews, the majority of them residents in Jamaica, took advantage of the Act and became English citizens. A similar Bill was introduced into the Irish Parliament in 1745, and passed through the Lower House. It was, however, rejected by the Peers in 1746. In 1747 it passed both houses of the Irish Parliament, but failed to obtain the royal assent. Years later, in 1783, Jews were specifically excluded from the benefits of the Irish Naturalization Act. An effort made to establish a Jewish theological seminary also failed. By the terms of the will of Elias de Paz, £1,200 was set aside for the maintenance of a 'Yesiba', or assembly for daily reading the Jewish law, and for advancing and propagating Judaism. The bequest was brought under the notice of the courts in 1744, and Lord Hardwicke, the Chancellor, decided that the legacy was invalid, on the ground that it was intended for superstitious purposes. The king, on petition, ordered that £1,000 of the amount be paid to the governor of the Foundling Hospital, for the purposes of assisting to support a preacher and to instruct the children under his care in the Christian religion. The balance of the money probably went in law expenses. The judgment in this case was followed in 1786 in that of *Isaac* v. *Gompertz*, when a legacy of £40 per annum, for the support and maintenance of the synagogue in Magpye Alley, was similarly disallowed.

Judaism and the Law.

Endowment of Jewish study declared illegal.

The absence of all opposition to the Act of 1740 probably emboldened the Whig Government to take a further step in the direction of Jewish emancipation, and, no doubt, in this determination they were strengthened by a feeling of gratitude for the great services rendered to the State in the recent crisis by English Jews. In 1753, therefore, the Pelham Government introduced a Bill into the House of Lords 'to permit persons professing the Jewish religion to be naturalized by Parliament'. The measure in reality proposed to do much less than its predecessor of 1740. Under the latter, Jews could become English subjects merely by taking the necessary oaths before some local official. The Bill of 1753 proposed to render foreign Jews resident in England qualified for naturalization by special Act of Parliament. Those born in the country were English subjects by virtue of their birth. The Government in its

The Jew Bill of 1753.

action had the support of a number of merchants, manufacturers, commanders of vessels, and others, who in their petitions in its favour argued that the passage of the measure would benefit English trade, in which Jews had for many years been deeply interested. It was suggested that the adoption of the measure would encourage rich foreigners to settle in the kingdom, and that the new-comers would set a laudable example of industry, temperance, and frugality. The Lord Mayor and City Corporation, however, held different views. They also petitioned Parliament, and opposed the Bill on the ground that it would tend greatly to the dishonour of the Christian religion, endanger the constitution, and be highly prejudicial to the interest and trade of the kingdom in general and of the capital in particular. These views were supported in other petitions by merchants and traders.

The Bill in the Commons.

Before these petitions had been presented, the Bill had passed through the House of Lords without any serious opposition, and had been introduced into the Lower Chamber. There it was met by a storm of hostility. The source of this opposition was for the most part political, and it was intensified by the imminence of a General Election. The Tory party, believing that by playing upon the prejudices of the populace it would render easier the defeat of the Government at the polls, adopted anti-Semitism in all its extravagances. In the Commons a leading part in the opposition to the measure was taken by Sir John Barnard, one of the members for the City, a personal enemy of Sampson Gideon. Counsel were heard on both sides, and witnesses examined. The debates were violent, the speeches embittered, and the pamphlets, which outnumbered them, more so. It was argued that the proposed naturalization would deluge the country with brokers, usurers, and beggars; that the rich Jews would purchase lands and even advowsons, and thus not only acquire an interest in the Legislature, but also influence the constitution of the Church, of which they were inveterate enemies; that the poorer Jews would oust the natives from their employment, and, by the exercise of extreme frugality, under-sell them; that the adoption of vagrant Jews into the community would

Violent debates.

rob the natives of their birthright, disgrace the character of the nation, endanger the constitution both in Church and State, and be an indelible reproach to the established Church of the country. The Jews would multiply to such an extent, would acquire so much wealth and consequently also power and influence, that their persons would be revered, their customs imitated. In short, Judaism would become the fashionable religion of the land. Moreover, the proposed legislation would be a direct contravention of that prophecy which declared that the Jews should be a scattered people, without country or fixed habitation. The Bill was an unchristian one, and as a distinct abandonment of Christianity would draw upon England all the curses that Providence had attached to the Jews. The House was reminded that after 430 years the Jews in Egypt had mustered 600,000 armed men, and that, according to the Book of Esther, when they gained the upper hand in the land of their sojourn, they had 'put to death in two days 76,000 of those whom they were pleased to call their enemies, without either judge or jury'. The possibility of a repetition of this exploit in England was hinted at. From the House the agitation spread to the streets. The question of the advisability of permitting Jews to apply for naturalization monopolized the public mind. The old story of the crucifixion of children by Jews was revived. The Bishops who had voted for the measure were libelled and insulted in the streets. Despite all opposition, however, the Government persevered with the measure, which in due course passed through the House of Commons and received the royal assent.

The arguments against the Bill.

The Bill passes.

The agitation did not cease with the passage of the Bill. On the contrary, it seemed to grow in volume. In vain was it pointed out that the number of Jews in England, native and foreign, did not exceed 8,000, that only a minority of these were foreign and that of these only a handful, the wealthier, could obtain any benefit from the Act. During the recess the opposition became almost more violent than it had been during the session. Petitions for the repeal of the obnoxious measure were widely signed; effigies of Jews were carried about the streets; and the walls were placarded with the legend, 'No

Public dislike of the measure

Jews, no wooden shoes'. It is not certain whether the latter portion of the popular cry expressed hostility to the foreign Protestants, especially Huguenots, whom the Government had endeavoured, without success, to naturalize in 1751, or whether it was merely added to the cry for the purpose of euphony. The storm was too powerful for a Government on the eve of an election to withstand. When Parliament reassembled no time was lost in reopening the question. The moment that the reply to the Address had been agreed to in the Upper House, the Duke of Newcastle introduced a measure to repeal the Act of the preceding session. In explaining his motion, the Duke said that the disaffected had made a handle of the Act to raise discontent among many of His Majesty's good subjects, and, as the Act was of itself of little importance, he was of opinion that it ought to be repealed. This new Bill passed through the House with little discussion. The Act of 1753 had contained a clause disabling all naturalized Jews from purchasing, inheriting, or receiving any advowson or presentation or right to any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion, school, hospital, or donative. It was intended not to repeal this section by the new measure, but the majority feared lest the clause, if unrepealed, might suggest that the Jews, by being expressly excluded from the possession of any ecclesiastical right of presentation, had the power and privilege of purchasing and inheriting any lay property in the kingdom. These views prevailed, and the clause was sacrificed, together with the remainder of the measure.

Action of the House of Lords.

The Act is again brought before the Commons

The Lower House was even more urgent for the repeal of the Act than the Peers. On the first day of the session, before the motion for the Address had been adopted, Sir James Dashwood, one of the leaders of the Opposition, gave notice that he would make a motion of very great importance at the very first opportunity. As soon as that arrived, Dashwood, after referring to the just and general indignation that the Act of the previous session had aroused among the people, moved that the House be called together on the fourth of December to take the Act into consideration. The motion was seconded by Lord Parker, a member of the other party, and agreed to without opposition. Meanwhile the Bill that had been introduced into the Peers' had passed through that chamber, and had come down to the Lower House. On the whole its terms suited the Commons. Exception, however, was taken to the preamble, which recited that 'Whereas an Act of Parliament was made and passed in the twenty-fifth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, An Act to permit persons professing the Jewish religion to be naturalized by Parliament, and for other purposes therein mentioned: And whereas occasion has been taken, from the said Act, to raise discontents and disquiets in the minds of his Majesty's subjects, be it enacted', &c. The wording of the preamble was considered by the Opposition an unjust reflection on the body of the people in general and on the Parliamentary opponents of the measure in particular. Sir Roger Newdigate proposed as an amended form, 'Whereas great discontents and disquietudes had from the said Act arisen'. A long discussion ensued, in the course of which the amendment was opposed by Pelham and Pitt, and defeated, whereupon the measure was adopted *nemine contradicente*, and in due course received the royal assent.

and is repealed.

The opponents of Jewish naturalization were, however, not yet satisfied. The Act of 1740 still remained on the statute book. A return of those Jews who had obtained naturalization under it was demanded and presented to the House. A motion was then proposed by Lord Harley and seconded by Sir James Dashwood, to the effect that so much of the Act of 1740 as related to persons professing the Jewish religion, who should settle in a British colony, should be repealed. This motion was opposed by Pelham and Pitt and rejected.

The agitation and Sampson Gideon.

This unsuccessful attempt at Jewish emancipation had one peculiar personal result. Among its prime supporters was Sampson Gideon. The indebtedness to him, not merely in a financial sense, was doubtless one of the principal reasons, if not the only one, for the Government policy, and, on the other hand, the rivalry of commercial competitors was among the causes of the embittered opposition to the Government's proposals. Gideon's overpowering ambition was to take his place among the landowners of England, a position he was well qualified to occupy by his wealth, his influence, and his services. Despite the legal opinions already noted, there was still considerable doubt whether Judaism did not debar its professors from owning land in England. The balance of opinion was at that time opposed to the Jewish claims, and in this view Gideon concurred. His influence with Walpole had been sufficient to induce that statesman to obtain an Act of Parliament enabling Gideon, although a Jew, to hold estates, but the disabilities under which Jews laboured still proved a bar to the full attainment of the ambition of Gideon, who felt that his status was inferior to that of those among whom he moved. If the legislation of 1753 had remained undisturbed, Gideon's troubles would have disappeared, and he could, while still a member of the Jewish community, have gratified his ambition in full. The unsuccessful conclusion of the campaign seems, however, to have assured him that his ambition and his faith were irreconcilable. One had to be sacrificed, and the latter was chosen as the victim. Gideon had already married a Christian lady. Their children were brought up in her faith, and their eldest son was, at the age of fifteen, created a baronet. He afterwards entered the House of Lords as Baron Eardley. In 1754 Gideon, who had gradually abandoned the interest in communal affairs he had previously shown, resigned his membership of the synagogue. He, however, continued a Jew, albeit a secret one. On his death in 1763 it was found that he had left a legacy of £1,000 to his old community, with a request that he should be buried in their cemetery as an ordinary member of the congregation, and that since his resignation he had continued anonymously to subscribe to the funds of the community. The request was granted, and in accordance with the terms of the will, on the evening of the Day of Atonement every year, the congregation in Bevis Marks is still reminded of the memory of Sampson de Rehuel Abudiente.

Death of Gideon. His will.

The year of the Naturalization Controversy was witness to the adoption of another measure that finally established the legality of Jewish marriages, on which hitherto a considerable amount of doubt had rested. The marriage law of the country

Jewish marriages.

as a whole was in a very unsatisfactory condition when Lord Chancellor Hardwicke turned his attention to it. His Marriage Act of 1753 rectified many abuses, and enacted among other provisions that, with the exception of Jewish and Quaker marriages, no marriage should be valid in England which was not celebrated by a priest in orders, after due notice, or unless a licence had previously been procured. By this measure a privilege was conferred on the Jewish population that was withheld from the Catholics and the majority of the Nonconformists.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE SEPHARDIM AGAIN

(1699–1784)

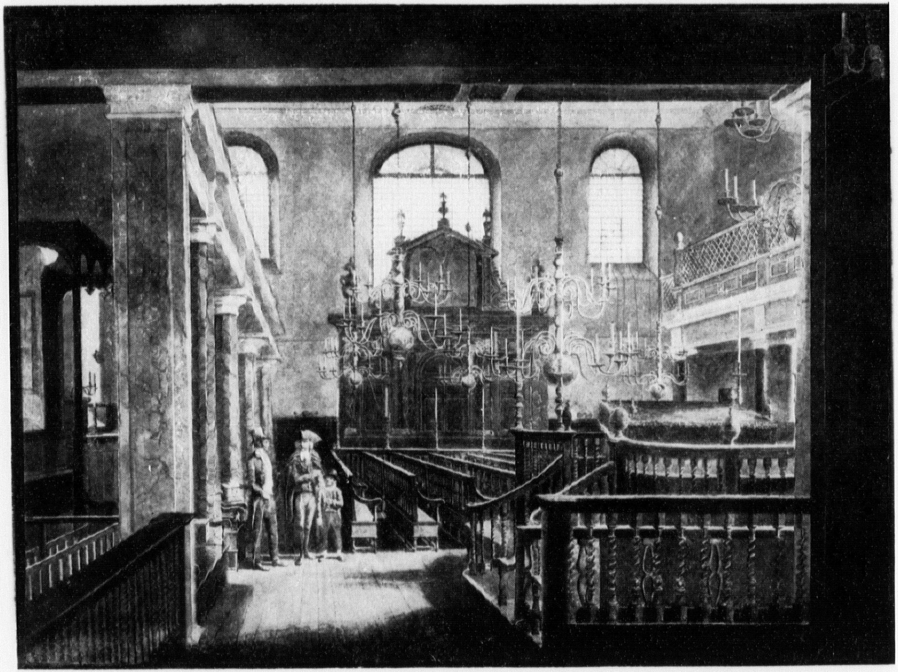
The Bevis Marks Synagogue, 1702.

THE first year of Haham Nieto's residence in England was marked by a movement for the further enlargement of the synagogue. The building, constructed twenty-two years earlier, was already too small, and a pressing necessity for more accommodation showed itself. On the 12th of January 1699, Antonio Gomez Serra, Menasseh Mendes, Alfonso Rodriguez, Manuel Nunes Miranda, Andrea Lopez, and Pantaleao Rodriguez signed a contract with Joseph Avis for the new building. The price agreed upon was £2,750, but on the completion of the structure, Avis, who was a Quaker, returned the profit, as he was unwilling to obtain any pecuniary benefit from so sacred a labour. The new building was consecrated in 1702. Many of the benches were brought from the old synagogue and some of the candlesticks from Holland. A beam was presented to the congregation by Queen Anne.

The troubles of Haham Nieto.

The early years of Haham Nieto's ministrations were not untroubled. Exception was taken to a sermon preached by him in November 1703 on the ground of its alleged tendency towards Spinozism. A protest against it was made to the *Mahamad* by Jehosuah Zarfatti, and the Haham, as a portion of his reply, wrote his treatise on the Divine Providence. But this publication did not close the controversy, and the subject of dispute was referred to the Beth Din of Amsterdam for decision. The hostile faction in London, however, had already gained over the authorities in Amsterdam. These latter made conditions which the *Mahamad* considered inadmissible, and, objecting to what they described as the personal motives and

The Nieto controversy and the Amsterdam authorities.



INTERIOR OF SEPHARDI SYNAGOGUE, BEVIS MARKS, LONDON
From the water-colour by Isaac Mendes Belisario

considerations that influenced the Beth Din of Amsterdam, the *Mahamad* of London decided in the future never to appeal on any question whatever to that body or to have any further communication with its members. This action still further embittered the dispute in London. Zarfatti had already been excommunicated. The next step was to exclude the reputed authors of the 'libel' from the synagogue and to threaten them also with excommunication. The pamphlet, of which complaint had been made, had been issued anonymously, but when this last decision of the *Mahamad* was published, thirteen members of the congregation sent a joint letter protesting against the action. They contended that the pamphlet had been written in the interests of their religion. The *Mahamad* stood by their decision, and were supported by most of the congregation, including all the scholars. At the instance of the Haham a truce was arranged over the High Festivals, and the offenders were re-admitted to the synagogue. The mutual approach on this occasion led to the arrangement of a *modus vivendi*. The dispute was referred to the Beth Din of the Spanish community of Hamburg, but no decision could be obtained from that body, as the office of Haham was vacant. The spiritual head of the neighbouring Sephardi community of Altona, however, was Haham Zevi Ashkenazi, and to him the *Mahamad* turned, and by him a reconciliation was effected.

Death and character of Nieto.

David Nieto's works.

Haham Nieto died at the beginning of 1728. The twenty-eight years that he had spent in England were full of activities, ministerial, communal, and literary. These last covered a wide range. In Italian, Spanish, Hebrew, and Portuguese, Nieto's pen was equally fluent. Philosophical and theological treatises, Hebrew poems, scientific works, sermons and historical inquiries were all included in the bibliography of his works. In addition, he was engaged on a Talmudical concordance which was never completed. Nieto's scholarship was profound, his interests wide, his intellect keen in the advancement of liberty. He was not afraid to expose the weak points in the Greek Calendar nor to turn the light upon the horrors of the Inquisition. Neither mystical hallucination, self-deception, nor the enslaving of the mind would he tolerate.

Wherever his teachings reached they succeeded in checking Caraism, in destroying Sabbathaism, and in strengthening the faith in Jewish tradition.

Anglo-Jewish scholars.

Magnetically, Nieto attracted around himself a circle of Jewish scholars. Jacob de Castro Sarmento, a native of Portugal, had studied Greek philosophy at Evora and medicine at Coimbra. Driven from his native land by the Inquisition, he came to England in 1720. He was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians in 1725, and a Fellow of the Royal Society five years later. In 1739 a doctorate in medicine was conferred on him by the University of Aberdeen. His first publication was a funeral oration in Portuguese on his friend the Haham. He also wrote several volumes on medical subjects and moral meditations for the Day of Atonement. In another work Sarmento dealt with the story of Mordecai, Esther, and Haman.

Dr. Sarmento.

Daniel Laguna.

Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna, also a fugitive from the Inquisition in Portugal, came to London by way of Jamaica, bringing with him a versified translation of the Psalms. In London he found a patron in Mordecai Nunes Almeyda, a man of literary tastes and a member of a cultured and intellectual family. The book was published in 1720, accompanied, as was the custom in literary circles at the time, by recommendations in prose and verse by fellow scholars. The list of recommendations of this description contained in the volume shows the extent of the scholarship of the Anglo-Jewish community in the second decade of the eighteenth century. Laguna's volume had no less than twenty-two such introductions, three of them written by women, Sara de Fonseca Pina y Pimentel, Manuela Nunes de Almeida, and Bienvenida Cohen Belmonte. The other contributors included Haham Nieto, Rabbi Joseph Abendanon, Dr. Isaac de Sequeira Samuda, and Sampson Gideon. In the polemical discussions that were then raging throughout Jewry, London became the centre of publication, and from that city went forth the repeated blows that assisted in demolishing the last vestiges of Sabbathaism.

Laguna's *Psalms*.

Prosperity of the community.

In these years the community flourished not only intellectually. Its membership, its prosperity, and that of the members all increased. But as the years succeeded one another the separation between Sephardim and Ashkenazim became more acute. As a symptom of the attitude of the Portuguese to the Germans even during the lifetime of Haham Nieto, it is recorded that on one occasion the *Yehidim* of the congregation were convened in order to instruct the *Mahamad* to inflict punishment on a member who had committed the repeated offence of attending the services of the other community.

Isaac Nieto appointed Haham.

The office of Haham was left vacant for five years after the death of David Nieto, until in 1733 his son Isaac Nieto (1702–1774) was appointed to succeed him. Less accomplished than his father, he was yet worthy to fill the high office he held, but his tenure did not last for long. In 1741 he resigned the office and went abroad, and a successor was found in Mosshe Gomes de Mesquita (1688–1751). Mesquita lived a further seven years and then died. Two of the orations at his funeral were delivered by the Ashkenazi Rabbi Hart and Mesquita's predecessor in office, Isaac Nieto.

Haham Mesquita.

Charitable Institutions.

The number of charitable institutions established by the Spanish and Portuguese Jews of London received from time to time frequent additions. Besides the two already mentioned, an orphan asylum, ' The Gates of Light and the Father of the Fatherless ', was founded in 1703. In 1724 a society was established for providing fatherless girls with dowries and for other charitable objects. Six years later Isaac da Costa Villareal devoted a sum of money to the foundation of a school. The poorer girls of the congregation had always kindly thought and consideration from their more fortunate fellow Jewesses. Six years after the foundation of the Villareal school yet another society for providing dowries was established. In 1747 the *Beth Holim* was instituted. This charity combined the offices of a hospital, lying-in hospital, and home for aged poor. Two years later a charitable society with multifarious objects, the *Mahasim Tobim*, came into existence. A rather long term of years passed away before the establishment of the next Sephardi charity, one for the distribution of bread. This work was initiated in 1778. The community, however, did not confine its good deeds to its own members. Jewish settlers in other parts of the country were assisted by it to form congregations, and the Dublin congregation was assisted with repairs to its cemetery in 1748.

The *Mahamad* and the community.

Throughout the eighteenth century the *Mahamad* continued to hold a very strict control over all the affairs of the members. Their financial transactions were subject to very close supervision, betting was prohibited, all interference in Parliamentary and municipal elections forbidden. The congregation during these years occasionally produced a member whose fame or notoriety spread beyond its narrow limits and attracted attention in spheres other than those of Jewry. Emanuel Mendes da Costa (1717–91) was known as a scientist, philosopher, and author, in all the cultured circles in London. He was a Fellow and Clerk of the Royal Society and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and a member of several other scientific associations, English and foreign. A relative of his, Benjamin Mendes da Costa (1704–64), was famous for his charity, which knew neither race nor faith. A person of a far different description was a connexion of his by marriage, the eccentric and miser, Ephraim Lopez Pereira, Baron d'Aguilar (1739–1802).

Dissensions.

On the death of Mesquita, Isaac Nieto again became the spiritual head of the congregation, but with the title of *Ab-beth-din*, instead of the more important one of Haham. He retained the office for only five years, and then again retired. This resignation was due to dissensions, which were increased by it. Nieto objected to the appointment of one of his pupils, Moses Cohen d'Azavedo (*d.* 1784), a son-in-law of the late Haham Mesquita, as Dayan.[1] Nieto from his retirement protested against the actions of the new *Beth Din*,[2] and declared that it was sanctioning the consumption of 'terefah'[3] meat. An endeavour was made to meet the wishes of the ex-Haham, but it failed, and for a time there was danger of a secession.

The policy of the congregation, to take no part in State affairs, underwent a change towards the middle of the eighteenth century. The Jewish Question was then becoming a matter of practical politics in England, and in 1746 a Committee of Diligence, consisting of Benjamin Mendes da Costa as President, Daniel J. Rodriguez, Jacob Fernandez Nunes, Jacob de Moses Franco, and Jacob Moses Pacheco, was formed, to watch over the interests of the Jews of Great Britain and Ireland. The committee was only of a temporary character and was soon dissolved, but it proved the forerunner of a permanent body, in which both branches of English Jewry were ultimately represented, for the Jewish Board of Deputies commenced its career fourteen years later. Before the admission of the representatives of the German congregations, however, the duty fell to the 'Deputies of the Portuguese Nation' to present an address to George III on the occasion of his accession, this being its first business after its constitution. Its first chairman was Benjamin Mendes da Costa, the philanthropist.

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[1] Ecclesiastical judge.
[2] Ecclesiastical court.
[3] Forbidden by Jewish law.

A forerunner of the Board of Deputies.

The sequel to the appointment of D'Azavedo as Dayan, feared by Isaac Nieto, occurred in 1761. In that year he was appointed Haham, an office vacant since the death of his father-in-law ten years earlier. Without delay Nieto protested, and as his influence and the respect in which he was held were considerable, it was determined to delay the completion of the appointment until the opinion on the candidate's qualifications of the *Beth Din* of Amsterdam had been obtained. The decision controverted all the objections raised by Nieto, and D'Azavedo was accordingly given the office that his critic had formerly held, and retained it until his death in 1784. Nieto survived this defeat twelve years, and died in 1773. His last years were devoted to a translation into Spanish of the Sephardi ritual. The first volume of this work was published in 1740; the last shortly before his death. In so scholarly a manner did Nieto perform this task that no later translation into any language has surpassed it in accuracy or style.

D'Azavedo appointed Haham.

Before Nieto's death the breach between the Portuguese and German communities, so far as intermarriage was concerned, which had ever been growing wider, seemed to have become impassable. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the attitude of the heads of the Sephardi community

Sephardim and Ashkenazim.

towards such marriages, although by no means encouraging, was not avowedly hostile. By 1745, however, a change had taken place. In that year the treasurer of the congregation, Jacob Israel Bernal, suddenly resigned his office without apparent cause, and shortly afterwards applied for permission to contract a marriage with a member of the other community. The matter was referred to the elders, who, after due deliberation, gave permission for the marriage, but, in order to discourage imitators, laid down humiliating conditions. In consequence of his marriage Bernal no longer took a prominent part in the affairs of the congregation, and his descendants ultimately left the community.[1] By 1772 the regulations of the congregation regarding marriage had become even more stringent. In that year Asser del Banco was peremptorily refused permission to marry a *Tudesca*,[2] the *Mahamad* not troubling to furnish any explanation of their decision.

Relations with foreign communities.

Aid to foreign Jews.

The congregation, being one of the most important in Europe, was the recipient of frequent applications for assistance. Loans, a portion of which was never repaid, were made to the community of Venice, and financial assistance rendered to the Jews of Palestine, Persia, Bohemia, and other countries. The influence of the community was used to relieve their co-religionists in Jamaica from the burden of oppressive taxation, and when disputes arose among the Jewish settlers in Barbados they were referred to London for settlement. Applications also came from the colonies, and afterwards the United States, for the supply of readers and ministers, and the Bevis Marks synagogue always did its best to fill the appointments.

Ransom of captives.

Another good work performed by the congregation was the ransom of Jewish captives in foreign lands, and a special office, that of Warden of Captives, was created for the purpose. In 1772 a difference arose between the synagogue authorities and the City as represented by the Lord Mayor. The latter issued instructions to the heads of the Sephardi community to render assistance to an indigent member, who was also an incorrigible.

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[1] They included Ralph Bernal, the politician and art collector, and Ralph Bernal Osborne, the politician.

[2] An Ashkenazi Jewess.

The opinions of some of the leading lawyers of the day were obtained, and they were to the effect that the Jews could not be compelled to provide for their own poor. Five years later the synagogue successfully surmounted another trouble. An attempt was made to impose Church rates upon it, but the imposition was resisted and the attempt failed.

The ebb of prosperity.

But the high-water mark in the communal affairs had been reached, and the prosperity of the community was gradually ebbing. Dissensions broke out and were with difficulty composed. Secession after secession took place, and the community suffered a continual drain of some of its best blood. Sampson Gideon, the Pereira Lopezs, the Francos, the Ximenes were drawn away by ambition. The Bernals left for probably the same reason. David Ricardo was converted to Christianity. His brothers at the time remained in the fold. Nevertheless, most of their descendants are now outside. The Furtados withdrew because the ritual was not sufficiently orthodox. They also lie buried within the shadow of the Church. Among those who remained, a continually increasing disinclination to hold honorary office in the community was displayed. So widespread became this tendency that before the end of the eighteenth century a number of public-spirited members undertook to accept any office that might be conferred upon them owing to refusal by other members. The *Ascamoth* or Laws were revised in 1784, but the revision only served to render them more narrow and tyrannical. In these circumstances it is not surprising that relations between Ashkenazim and Sephardim became strained.

Losses of the community.

New sources of immigration.

The founders of the London community of Spanish and Portuguese Jews were almost without exception either Marranos coming direct from the Peninsula or the descendants of Marranos who had fled to Holland, Hamburg, Italy, or America. In course of time the number of Marranos dwindled, the descendants of the original *nuevos Christianos* being absorbed into the surrounding population. The supply of recruits from this source grew more feeble and still more feeble, but even before it had entirely ceased their place was taken by descendants of those who had fled in the first instance from before the Inquisition, and had settled on the shores of the Mediterranean, and by others only connected with the Sephardim through the similarity of their rituals and customs. This new source of immigration caused differences insensibly to grow up in the congregation. The older settlers began to discriminate against the new-comers. The *Berberiscos* and *Italianos* were grouped with the *Tudescos* and *Polaccos*. They were equally considered *Foresteiros*, and as such at first denied and afterwards only grudgingly admitted to the full privileges of membership of the community. The siege of Gibraltar in 1781 furnished an appreciable addition to this element in the Anglo-Jewish population. Jews, coming for the most part from Morocco, had settled in that fortress on its annexation by the English in 1704, and had gradually formed a considerable community there. During the privations of the lengthy siege, several shiploads of Jews managed to escape and to reach England, where they settled.

Gibraltar Jews settle in England.

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CHAPTER XXIX

THE ASHKENAZIM AGAIN

(1765–1797)

Appointment of R. Tewele Schiff.

ON the resignation by Hart Lyon (Zevi Hirsch) of the rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, David Tewele Schiff of Frankfort-on-Main was appointed his successor. In the same year Meshullam Zalman, a son of Jacob Emden, was elected rabbi of the Hambro Synagogue. The original intention apparently was to elect Zalman rabbi of both synagogues, but the opposition could not be overcome. They both came to London in 1765, and for a time both termed themselves 'Rabbi of London and the Provinces'. Two years after his arrival Schiff assisted at the re-opening of the synagogue, which had been rebuilt and enlarged in order to afford accommodation for a congregation that was continually growing. The membership of the congregation, however, although it increased in numbers, did not proportionately become wealthier. On the other hand, the majority of the new members came from the poorest classes in the community, and the congregation in its corporate capacity had for a long term of its existence an arduous struggle to preserve itself. In these circumstances a legacy of £3,500, left to it in 1769 by Lazarus Simon, one of its oldest members, must have been especially welcome. The whole of that amount was not to be devoted to general purposes, but as at that period the synagogue was not merely a house of prayer but also a centre of communal life in all its branches, no matter to what specific communal objects the legacy was devoted, the funds of the congregation were none the less relieved. Of the legacy of Lazarus Simon, the interest on £1,000 was to be applied to clothing and providing doles for six destitute men and the same number of women, while the interest on a similar amount was to be handed half-yearly to the overseers of the poor, fourteen days before the holy-days. At a later date it was decided to confine the benefits of the first trust to needy members of the congregation and their widows. This decision was doubtless due to the pressure of alien immigration and the alarming increase in the numbers of the Jewish poor solely dependent for relief on the synagogues and a few rich members. This pressure on the synagogue finances was so heavy that in 1772 the very serious step of mortgaging the synagogue buildings was decided upon. The amount raised was small, only £1,700, of which £1,300 was due to the builder. The synagogue had been already greatly indebted to Judith Levy (1706-1803), daughter of Moses Hart, the founder of the congregation, and possibly a sense of this indebtedness prevented the governing body of the synagogue from informing her of their trouble. Judith Levy, who had married Elias, a son of Benjamin Levy, survived her husband fifty-three years. Her two children long predeceased her, the son in childhood, the daughter on the morning of her wedding-day. Judith Levy lived far from the Jewish quarter, and divided the remainder of her long life between communal benefactions and society. She was known as 'The Queen of Richmond Green', her country house being in that district. When Judith Levy heard that money had been borrowed she expressed some annoyance. In the year 1790, mainly through her generosity, the community was enabled to erect a new and larger building in Duke's Place.

The synagogue mortgaged.

Judith Levy.

The causes of immigration.

The attraction to England.

The causes of the continued and increasing migration of foreign Jews to England were several. To those who were, for the moment, comparatively free from persecution although burdened by oppressive disabilities, England appeared as the land of freedom, wherein, to the Jew, there were no restrictions of domicile nor other interference with his private affairs. To the ambitious among younger Jewry, therefore, England appeared almost as El Dorado. The history of the Jews of the Continent in their relations with the other peoples was, however, by no means without incident, and every one of the disturbances that from time to time convulsed Europe during the eighteenth century reacted with twofold force on the Jewish communities within its area. The war that ended in the partition of Poland in 1772 added considerably to the burdens of the London Jewish community. The inroad of poverty-stricken immigrants became so considerable that in 1771 the Wardens of the Great Synagogue took steps to discourage further immigration by refusing relief to foreign Jews 'who had left their country without good cause'. This decision effected no improvement in the state of the community. In fact, it continued to get worse until a culmination was reached the same year, when a group of Jewish malefactors was caught and convicted, and an agitation set on foot against alien Jewish settlers. The Government remonstrated with the synagogue, and the authorities of the latter replied that the migration was due to the disturbed condition of Poland and to the fault of the Government in not restricting immigration. It appealed to them to adopt such a course, and, in consequence of these representations, instructions were issued to prevent for the future the settlement in the country of Jews, unless they possessed passports and had paid their full passage money—many foreign immigrants at that time were able to obtain considerable deductions from the ordinary passengers' charges. At the same time the Lord Mayor offered to pay the expenses to the coast of any foreign-born Jews who wished to return to the country of their birth.

Immigration troubles. Restriction advocated.

Ashkenazi charities.

There was then no organized system of poor relief in the Ashkenazi community. The only charities beyond those of the synagogues were the *Berith* or Circumcision Society, an association for clothing orphan children, and the *Talmud Torah*, afterwards the Jews' Free School. The great distress prevalent in the country towards the end of the eighteenth century fell especially on the Jews of London, with their largely disproportionate number of poor. The Sephardim met the increased burden by establishing the society 'That giveth Bread to the Hungry'. The Ashkenazim were not long in following this example, and in 1779 the *Meshebat Nephesh*, a society for the distribution of bread, meat, and coal among the

The *Meshebat Nephesh*.

poor, the first Ashkenazi charity of importance was established. Its first president and one of its founders was Levi Barent Cohen (1740–1808), the founder also of a family from his time prominent in communal affairs, and the father-in-law of Sir Moses Montefiore and Nathan Mayer Rothschild. Cohen was a prominent member of the Ashkenazi community, and devoted himself with unsparing zeal to the benefit of his less favourably situated co-religionists. A few years later a Jewish soup kitchen was also instituted in London.

Levi Barent Cohen.

A *Shechita* libel action.

In 1788 Jewish affairs came before the Courts in an action for libel undertaken on a decision of the Sephardi Beth Din on a question of *Shechita*.[1] A Jew named Levy reported to that authority that one of its licensed butchers, Rodriguez, was in the habit of selling meat unauthorized for consumption by Jews. The case was investigated, and the Beth Din being satisfied of the truth of the charge, Rodriguez was deprived of his licence. This decision was, in the ordinary course, published from the synagogue pulpit, and members of the community were forbidden to purchase meat of the delinquent. Rodriguez thereupon brought an action for libel against Levy and claimed heavy damages. The case was heard in the Court of Common Pleas and decided in favour of Levy, the action of the Beth Din being justified on a second occasion also when a motion was made for a new trial.

Proposed *Shechita* co-operation.

This question of *Shechita* engaged the earnest consideration of the synagogue authorities on several occasions. The first proposal for joint action by the London congregations for the supply of meat for consumption by Jews was made in 1792, when a meeting of representatives of the three Ashkenazi synagogues was held. At that meeting, at the suggestion of Lyon de Simons, a scheme for the formation of a Joint Board, to deal with all matters arising out of the subject, and on which all the London congregations were to have been represented, and also for the construction of a central hall for the sale of meat, was drafted. The plan, with details, was submitted to the Sephardi authorities, who, it was contended, would benefit considerably by their adhesion. The Sephardim raised

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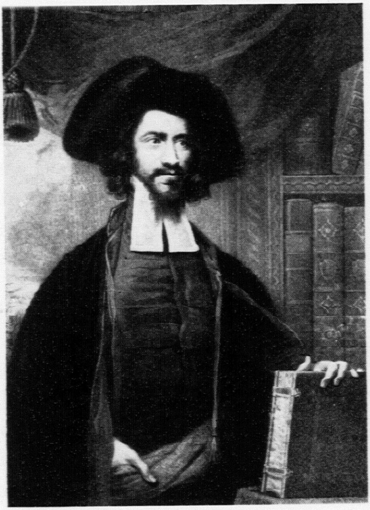
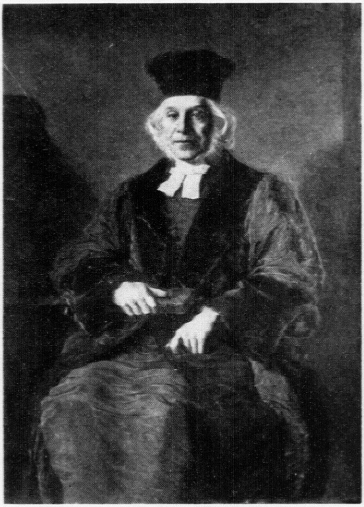
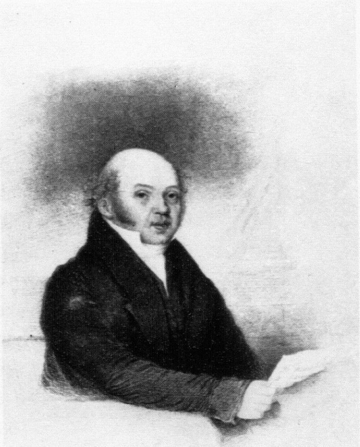
[1] The ritual slaughtering of cattle for purposes of food.



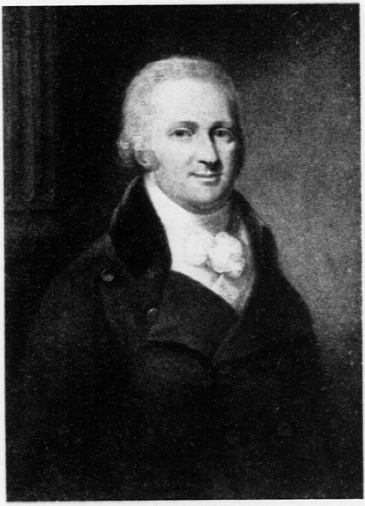
RABBI SOLOMON HIRSCHELL
Engraving by W. Holl, after F. B. Barlin



CHIEF RABBI NATHAN MARCUS ADLER
From the painting by B. S. Marks



NATHAN MAYER ROTHSCHILD
From the drawing by C. Penny



ABRAHAM GOLDSMID
Engraving by F. Bartolozzi, R.A., after Medley

great objections to the establishment of a central hall, but expressed their willingness to join the other congregations on the proposed board. The Ashkenazim, however, were unwilling to sacrifice any part of their scheme, and contended that the several portions were inseparable. The three Ashkenazi synagogues, it was stated in the course of the correspondence that ensued, had determined to establish the hall, and the Sephardim could join them whenever they desired. Bevis Marks, on its part, replied that it had already undertaken to reorganize its own *Shechita*, and saw no reason for altering the decision regarding the hall at which it had already arrived. A subscription was set on foot among the Ashkenazim for the purpose of establishing a hall, but it met with little success. A further attempt was made the following year, but funds sufficient for the adoption of the scheme were never obtained. With the disappearance of the proposal there also passed away that for the establishment of a Joint Board, and it was not until more than a decade later that the Board of Shechita, representative of all of the Jews of London, was established.

Co-operation of the Ashkenazim for the relief of the poor.

Two years later, however, in 1794, an agreement between the Ashkenazi congregations for the relief of the unattached poor was reached. As has already been pointed out, the pressure of the burden of the foreign poor on the congregations was heavy, but the synagogue authorities strove bravely to support it. An arrangement existed for the division of the burden between the three Ashkenazi synagogues and was generally observed. Occasionally, however, misunderstandings and disputes arose, and this was especially the case when some poor alien had to be buried. On more than one occasion the *Mahamad* had to be called in to arbitrate between the dissentient synagogues. It was in consequence of one of these disputes and its subsequent settlement by the *Mahamad* that in 1794 the Hambro Synagogue undertook to pay £50 for six months to the Duke's Place Synagogue on condition that the latter relieved it of its burden of the foreign poor during that period. The *Mahamad* was to decide whether this amount was to be increased in the future. In the same year the four city synagogues combined for the purpose of arranging for the supply of the necessary Passover bread.

Co-operation of the New with the Great Synagogue.

After twenty-seven years' service Tewele Schiff died in 1791, and his funeral was conducted with marked honours. The consequent vacancy was not filled for several years, although candidates were invited in 1794. The delay in the appointment was due to financial causes. Meanwhile the Great Synagogue availed itself of the services of Rabbi Moses Myers of the New Synagogue, which were freely placed at its disposal. The feud that had raged so fiercely on the occasion of the establishment of this seceding congregation in 1761 had by this time been completely healed, and the courtesy displayed by the New Synagogue was but a symptom of the state of affairs that now ruled.

A self-denying ordinance.

The year 1794 was signalized in the history of the Duke's Place Synagogue by a remarkable undertaking on the part of a number of its members not to withdraw from the congregation under a penalty of forfeiting a hundred pounds. It was possibly feared that the many secessions which were at the time severely affecting the Sephardi community might be imitated by the Ashkenazim, and to counteract any such tendency this undertaking was offered. The policy of the Ashkenazim differed widely from that of the Sephardim in regard to the establishment of new synagogues. The first of the *Ascamoth* still rendered members of the Sephardi community subject to severe penalties for conducting service within a radius of four miles of Bevis Marks. The Ashkenazi authorities, on the other hand, now readily granted permission to small congregations of Jews to meet for prayers, and a small Polish synagogue was built near Cutler Street, Houndsditch. The growth of the community necessitated the supply of further synagogue accommodation. The cemetery that had been in use by the main synagogue was gradually becoming filled, and in 1795, mainly through the instrumentality of the brothers Abraham and Asher Goldsmid, another piece of land was purchased for a similar purpose. Services had been held for many years in the private house of Baron de Simons of Bedford Row, since his arrival from St. Petersburg in 1768.

A Polish synagogue founded.

The Western Synagogue.

On his death those who had grown accustomed to meet in his house determined to establish a small synagogue. At first rooms were taken in Bedford Row, but the congregation soon removed to Denmark Court, Strand, where a synagogue was built in 1797. The congregation removed some years later to St. James's Place, Haymarket. The founders of the new synagogue received full sympathy from the authorities of the City synagogues, and an agreement was made between the new community and its older colleagues for burial and other purposes.

Provincial Jewry.

By the end of the eighteenth century London, although by far the largest and most important Jewish community in England, was by no means the only one. That of Dublin was perhaps the earliest to be formed outside of the metropolis. This was already well established early in the eighteenth century. It, however, fell into decay towards the end of that century and its property was seized and sold for the benefit of its creditors. It was revived in its present form as late as 1822. There was a Jewish cemetery in Birmingham in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The congregation must therefore date from at latest the same period, probably from 1700, and its history from that day to this is continuous. The community at Plymouth was founded about 1740, and there were a synagogue and cemetery in use in 1752. The Portsea congregation is believed to have been founded in 1747, and from 1766 to 1789 there were, in consequence of quarrels in the community, two Jewish congregations there. During the period of the Napoleonic Wars Portsea was one of the principal Jewish centres in England, but after their conclusion its prosperity suffered and its members diminished. The Jewish community at Bristol was also founded about 1750. That of Canterbury, which came to an end within recent years, was in existence in the middle of the eighteenth century, if not earlier. There was a congregation at Cambridge before 1770, and a little later those of Exeter, Chatham, Swansea, Hull, Liverpool and Manchester were founded. At Liverpool the first Jewish sermons in English were preached—after 1807. There had been an earlier community there about 1750, but this had died out.

All of these Jewish centres, as well as other smaller ones, were formed in the first instance by settlers from London. Small traders went out to pursue their business in the country towns and villages. As they prospered they settled, especially in the seaports, and in their turn sent out representatives who spent the week travelling among the inland towns, returning to their head-quarters for the sabbath. As these representatives prospered they set up business on their own account, generally in some county town. And each Jewish settler in due course became the nucleus of a Jewish congregation. Their business developed and took different forms. Most, almost all, commenced as general shopkeepers and specialized only later. Some passed through the stages of pawnbrokers and silversmiths to that of private banker. The generation that established factories and mills in Lancashire, Yorkshire and Nottingham comes later. Most of these provincial Jewish families, as their circumstances improved, were attracted to the metropolis, where they ultimately settled, and Jewish public life, and even English public life, were enriched by recruits from the provincial communities. The well-known Anglo-Jewish family of Emanuel came from Portsea. The Franklin family, even better known, came from Manchester. The Jessels, including Sir George Jessel, the Solicitor-General and Master of the Rolls, and Lord Jessel, came from Bristol, and the Samuels, including Lord Swaythling and Sir Herbert Samuel, from Liverpool. Even the Rothschilds, when they first came to England, settled in Manchester.

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CHAPTER XXX

THE OPENING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

(1792–1824)

AT the opening of the nineteenth century, according to the authority of Patrick Colquhoun, the magistrate, the Jewish population of London numbered 20,000. In the provincial towns there were a further five or six thousand Jews. Those in London worshipped in six synagogues. In the provinces twenty were to be found. Another writer of the period, von Archenholtz, drew a very sharp distinction between the Sephardim and Ashkenazim. 'Dress, language, manners, cleanliness, politeness, everything distinguishes them, much to the advantage of the former, who have little to distinguish them from Christians. The difference is discernible even in their public worship and prejudices; the physiognomy is the only thing they have in common.' All the Jews who were forced to leave Holland and Germany, he said, took refuge in England, and proved a most undesirable addition to the population.

Anglo-Jewish celebrities.

The period, however, was not without Anglo-Jewish celebrities, both Ashkenazi and Sephardi. Myer Lyon (*d.* 1797), professionally known as Leoni, the opera-singer, was in 1790 a chorister in Duke's Place Synagogue, where his voice often attracted non-Jewish auditors. A pupil of his, John Braham or Abrahams (1774 ?–1856), also a chorister at the same synagogue, attained an even greater fame on the operatic stage.

Lewis Goldsmith.

Lewis Goldsmith (1763 ?–1846), publicist, diplomatist, &c., had one of the most adventurous careers in that era of adventure, the French Revolution. Journalist in London and Paris, employed and denounced in turn by both the English and French Governments, he was present at the capture of Frankfort by the Hessians in 1792, was a spectator of the Polish struggle under Kosciusko, and witnessed several of the battles in the Napoleonic wars. By Napoleon, Goldsmith was frequently employed on confidential and responsible services, and at an earlier date he was commissioned by the Polish revolutionists to obtain British intervention on their behalf.

Lord George Gordon.

A personage of an entirely different description was the erratic Protestant stalwart, Lord George Gordon, who adopted Judaism towards the close of his career. Although he conformed strictly to the ordinances of Judaism, Gordon's adhesion met with no welcome from the community, and in its life he took no part. A valued member of the Sephardi community, and at the same time a cultured member of society, was David Alves Rebello. He filled several offices in the synagogue, and outside of it showed himself a patron of the fine arts and a benefactor of the poor. He devoted himself with enthusiasm to the study of natural history, his writings on which he published, and formed a considerable collection of coins as well as of objects relating to all branches of his favourite science.

Anglo-Jewish literature.

The same period was one of Jewish literary activity in many directions. The Pentateuch was translated into English by S. Alexander in 1785 and by David Levi in 1787. Various portions of the Sephardi and Ashkenazi rituals were published, the translators being Alexander Alexander and David Levi, and the *Hagadah* [1] was translated by the same writers in 1787 and 1794 respectively. In the field of theology David Levi published, in 1782, an account of the rites and ceremonies of the Jews; in 1790 a volume of discourses; and, in 1796–1800, a dissertation, in three volumes, on the Prophecies. In 1786 he published his *Lingua Sacra,* also in three volumes, and in 1806 there appeared Hyman Hurwitz's *Introduction to Hebrew Grammar*, which went through many editions and was for a long time the standard Hebrew grammar among English Jews. Hurwitz (1770–

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[1] The Passover Service.

1844) was a friend of Coleridge. He founded the Highgate Academy, a higher school for Jewish boys, in 1799, and afterwards became Professor of Hebrew in University College, London. His other works included *Hebrew Tales* and *Vindicia Hebraica*. Solomon Bennett (1780–1841) was an engraver who, impatient of the restrictions on liberty on the Continent, settled in England, at Bristol. There, in addition to following his craft, he wrote theological works in defence of Judaism. Among the Hebrew works published were *Asara Maamarot*, a volume of three essays on philosophical and Biblical topics and other cabbalistic works by Eliakim ben Abraham, issued between 1794 and 1803. At Cambridge, Israel Lyons (1739–75), belonged to an earlier period. He taught Hebrew there and wrote on the Hebrew language and the Bible. Solomon Lyon, who described himself as 'Teacher of Hebrew to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Eton College, &c.', published a work on archæology in 1810, and a Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon in 1815. One of Lyon's pupils was Isaac Nathan (1792–1864), who set Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* to music. Joseph Crool, who also taught Hebrew at Cambridge about the year 1838, and was as well known as an eccentric as a scholar, wrote several polemical, liturgical and other works.

David Levi.

David Levi (1740–1799), by occupation a shoemaker and subsequently a hat-dresser, was never far removed from poverty. Nevertheless, he succeeded in placing himself in the front rank of Anglo-Jewish scholars of his day, and by his translations of the prayer-books of the two Jewish communities rendered all successors in that field under obligations to him. Levi was also involved in several controversies. To Joseph Priestley's *Letters to the Jews, inviting them to an Amicable Discussion of the Evidences of Christianity*, Levi replied in his *Letters to Dr. Priestley*. The controversy was continued on both sides, and others joined in it. In 1795 Levi joined in the Anglo-Israel controversy that centred round the writings and prophecies of Richard Brothers. Two years later he turned his attention to Paine, the militant atheist, to whom he addressed, in a series of letters, a defence of the Old Testament.

The Baal-Shem of London.

An earlier celebrity was the cabbalist and mystic, Hayyim Samuel Jacob Falk (1708 ?–1782), generally known as the Baal-Shem of London, who obtained a great reputation for possessing occult powers, and concerning whom many remarkable stories are related.

The French Revolution.

The era of the French Revolution was one fraught with influences on the fortunes of all the European States. England, as one of the nearest neighbours of France, was early drawn into the vortex of French politics, and the hostility towards the French people, at the best only slumbering among the English, quickly burst into flame. As the struggle between the two nations became more intense, the bitterness with which they regarded one another grew more acute. Even before war had broken out, foreigners, especially Frenchmen, who were unable to give satisfactory accounts of themselves were regarded with suspicion, and a condition of affairs arose, somewhat similar to that which prevailed when England under Elizabeth was the scene of the machinations of the Jesuits and of Spain. This suspicion of all foreigners, never entirely removed from the English mind, spread from the people to the Government, who introduced a measure into Parliament in 1792 to deal with what was then considered the alien peril. The object of the measure was to make all foreigners arriving in the kingdom furnish accounts of themselves and give up whatever arms they might possess. They were required to obtain passports at their ports of landing, so that by those means their movements in the country might be followed. The measure also gave the Government the power of expulsion. Despite the opposition of the Whigs under Fox the Bill became law, and during its continuance poor foreign Jews were frequently expelled from the country as undesirable.

Anti-alien legislation.

A continuation of the same policy was to be seen in the action of the City authorities in July 1798. At the instance of the Duke of Portland, one of the Secretaries of State, the Wardens of the City synagogues were ordered to furnish a return of all aliens in the community, and any foreign Jews not included in the list were rendered liable to imprisonment and transportation. The authorities of the synagogues made haste to furnish the desired information, which was probably needed in connexion with an Aliens Bill, then under the consideration of the House of Commons.

The problem of the Jewish poor.

A few years later a more serious danger threatened the welfare of the community. The increase of the poor had been continuous. It was due not only to natural causes, but also to the sustained immigration from the Continent. This deplorable condition of the lower classes was to a great extent due to widespread and persistent unemployment. From the occupations filled by members of the same class in the general community Jews were excluded, by their want of technical knowledge as well as by religious scruples. The Jew was unable, even if qualified, to work more than four and a half days a week, as against the six of his non-Jewish competitor. With such a handicap it was hardly possible for the Jewish working man to find employment among Christians, and the number of Jewish masters, not all willing to employ co-religionists, was inconsiderable.

The Goldsmid family.

Although the synagogues and a few of the richer members of the community were by no means unmindful of the claims of their poorer brethren, the majority of the rich Jews of the day were heedless of their condition. Idleness is invariably accompanied by a laxity of moral control, and the last years of the eighteenth century, as a natural consequence, saw crime somewhat widespread in the London Jewish community. This deplorable condition of affairs attracted the attention of Abraham Goldsmid (1756 ?–1810), the fourth son of Aaron Goldsmid (*d.* 1782), who came to England from Holland in 1765. Aaron Goldsmid and his four sons, George (1741–1813), Asher (*d.* 1822), Benjamin (1755–1808), and Abraham, became leading men in the City. Benjamin and Abraham were also prominent in philanthropic affairs, both Jewish and general, Benjamin being the founder of the Naval Asylum.

Abraham Goldsmid.

Once the attention of Abraham Goldsmid was directed to the condition of the Ashkenazi poor, he determined that the example of the Sephardi community, as illustrated by its establishment of an hospital and asylum, should be followed. With this object he quickly succeeded in collecting a sum of

£20,000, the eighty-seven first subscribers to the fund consisting of forty-six Jews (two of them Sephardim), and forty-one Christians. When the amount had been collected, however, differences arose among the subscribers as to the purpose to which it should be devoted, and the fund remained untouched for several years.

Colquhoun's account of the London Jews.

Meanwhile the very undesirable state of affairs was attracting attention beyond the narrow circle of the community. In a treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, published by the aforementioned Patrick Colquhoun in 1795, of which numerous subsequent editions appeared with great rapidity, in the course of a consideration of metropolitan affairs from the point of view of a police magistrate, some of the tendencies that displayed themselves in the Anglo-Jewish community came under notice, and the urgent necessity for the profitable and industrious employment of a number of poorer Jews emphasized. The strictures contained in this book were not without effect. Among others they attracted the attention of Joshua Van Oven (1766–1838), who entered upon a correspondence with Colquhoun on the subject of the condition of the lower classes of Anglo-Jewry. Van Oven agreed with others who had studied the question that the cause of all the trouble lay in the ignorance, on the part of the bulk of the Jewish population, of any skilled trades. As a remedy Van Oven considered that it was highly necessary to deal with the state of affairs by the relief of the helpless, the instruction of the children, and the diffusion among them of a knowledge of trades 'without any infringement of their religious customs'. To carry out this scheme he suggested the allocation by Parliament of a portion of the poor-rates paid by Jews. The amount obtained from this source was to be supplemented by funds derived from the synagogue surpluses, and also from a special poor-rate levied on Jews. The total of the funds thus collected was to be administered by a Board representative of the synagogues. The scheme was approved by Colquhoun and also by Abraham Goldsmid and other communal leaders, and it was incorporated in a Bill presented to Parliament. By this measure it was proposed to establish an institution to educate

Joshua Van Oven.

Scheme for a Jewish 'Poor Fund'.

the young for useful industry, to restore health to the sick, and to establish an asylum for old age and infirmity.

The first opposition to the proposed measure came from the authorities at Bevis Marks, who claimed that, so far as they were concerned, it was quite unnecessary, inasmuch as their congregation already sufficiently provided for all the needs of its poorer members. Objections were also raised by the local authorities concerned to that portion of the scheme which recommended the allocation of a proportion of the poor-rates. This part of the measure was quickly abandoned, and the remainder did not long survive. The Jewish scheme having been abandoned, the missionaries to the Jews, who were then just beginning to organize their forces under the lead of Joseph Frey (*d.* 1851), himself a converted Jew, began to consider how to deal with the problem. The failure of the scheme of Van Oven, however, did not mean the cessation of all effort on the part of the Jews themselves. The fund collected by Abraham Goldsmid was still in existence, and it was at length, in 1806, devoted to the purpose for which it had been intended, by the establishment of an institution in Mile End for the care of five aged men, five women, ten boys, and eight girls. For the children technical as well as elementary education was provided. This institution, by subsequent extensions of its usefulness, ultimately became the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum, and still later the Jewish Orphanage.

Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum founded.

Some years before this satisfactory conclusion had been reached the office of rabbi of the Duke's Place Synagogue, which had been vacant for many years—in fact, since the death of Tewele Schiff in 1792—was filled. The new incumbent, who was appointed in 1802, was of English birth, the only one since the Re-Settlement who could claim that advantage, but in education and training he was foreign. Solomon Hirschell (1761–1842) was the son of Rabbi Hirsch Levin (Hart Lyon), at the time of Hirschell's birth the occupant of the office to which his son afterwards succeeded. The father, after his departure from England, filled several offices on the Continent, and when in Berlin collaborated, at the request of Frederick the Great, with Moses Mendelssohn, in the translation

Appointment of Rabbi Solomon Hirschell.

into German of the rabbinical code of Jewish ordinances. Hirschell arrived in England at a time when, despite the temporary lull in active hostilities, the struggle between Napoleon and the English statesmen was unabated and undecided. In all directions throughout the country ran a well-developed vein of patriotic ardour, rendered all the more intense by the fear of French invasion. Deep love of country and willingness to sacrifice on her behalf were displayed by all classes. On the resumption of hostilities, towards the end of 1803, volunteers for the defence of their country were enrolled in great numbers. The Jews of London showed themselves no less eager to accept service than their Christian countrymen, and, at the great review by George III on the 26th of October, 1803, some hundreds of Jews were present under arms. Jewish volunteers were excused from attendance at divine service, and allowed to take the oaths of allegiance and fidelity on the Pentateuch instead of on the New Testament.

Patriotism of the Jews.

Long periods in the history of the three city Ashkenazi synagogues passed without any, or with few, occurrences of interest to a later generation. Many years elapsed before the wounds received and given at the births of the two seceding synagogues were finally healed. The disagreements, however, if extending over lengthy periods, were still but temporary, and when generations grew up to whom the original causes of the disputes were merely traditions, the disputes themselves were gradually forgotten. The subsequent history of the synagogues was marked by alternate agreements and disagreements. When the necessity of joint action for dealing with the poor, or matters such as *Shechita*, became urgent, the heads of the several congregations would meet and co-operate. There was also sporadic co-operation in the Board of Deputies. But these understandings seldom lasted long, and disputes arising over some details that, from the distance of time, appear of little or no consequence, relations became strained, until the necessity for joint action again grew urgent.

Proposed union of the Ashkenazim.

Thus in 1804 a conference of representatives of the three synagogues was held for the purpose of devising a means of union among them. The time for such a combination had, however, not yet come, and despite the efforts of Hirschell, who himself presided over one of the conferences, the only result was a new and temporary arrangement for sharing the burden of the Ashkenazi poor. Twenty years later another effort was made to forestall the union that was not finally effected until 1870. The suggestion on this occasion came from Nathan Mayer Rothschild (1777–1836). The conferences, which extended leisurely over four years, were held at his residence, and resulted finally in an agreement between the three City synagogues. By this agreement certain charges and revenues were shared in common, and a committee of arbitration was appointed to adjust any differences that might arise between the three participating bodies. A short time earlier Hirschell had been accepted as the spiritual head of the three congregations, thereby becoming the first English Chief Rabbi.

Rabbi Hirschell appointed Chief Rabbi.

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CHAPTER XXXI

THE REFORM MOVEMENT

(1802–1885)

The troubles of the Sephardim.

BY the close of the eighteenth century the incessant inflow of foreign Ashkenazim had gradually placed their community, from the point of view of numbers, in a position of superiority over the Sephardim. These latter had lost their priority, of which they had been so proud, and had sunk to a position of but a fraction of the Jews of England. They no longer consisted solely of the descendants of Marranos, emigrants from Spain and Portugal. Other and less cultured elements, closely akin in their religious ritual but otherwise a continent apart, had begun to penetrate and the *Foresteiros* or Jews from the Moslem lands were looked upon, albeit helplessly, by the true blue Sephardim with almost as much contempt as was bestowed on the *Tedescos* or Ashkenazim. The older fraction, however, still contained almost the whole of the wealthier and more cultured of English Jews. The position of the Bevis Marks congregation, moreover, had become unsatisfactory. Its income was reduced to such an extent that a subscription had at one time to be opened for its assistance. The number of members as well as the revenue had decreased. The services were not conducted to the satisfaction of the congregants. Such a pass did affairs reach, that in the second year of the nineteenth century an inquiry was made into the spiritual state of the Sephardi community.

The general dissatisfaction was voiced at a meeting of the elders in 1803 by Isaac Mocatta, who condemned the spiritual decay of the community. He complained especially of the neglect into which education had fallen. He suggested a thor-

Reforms suggested.

ough change in the methods, and especially the substitution of English for Spanish as the language into which the prayers were translated. The Council of Wardens, in their reference to a committee appointed to consider the state of the community, complained that 'in this Kahal, which had shone brilliantly for more than a century as one of the principal of Europe, the study of the Law will be entirely lost, and the Kahal will become an object of contempt and ridicule'. The committee in its report, presented the following year, recommended that a Haham should be appointed, that the charity schools should be reorganized, and that the *Medrash* (religious college) should be managed in a manner calculated to induce the members of the congregation to send their children to it as well as to a *yeshiba* or religious school, the establishment of which was recommended. The report had one immediate result. The community had had no spiritual head since the death of d'Azavedo in 1784. Within a year of the issue of the report a successor was appointed in the person of Raphael Meldola of Leghorn (1754–1828).

Haham Meldola.

The new Haham came from a family that had for many centuries furnished scholars and rabbis of repute to the larger Jewish community. His father was Moses Meldola, Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Paris. The new Haham was born at Leghorn, where he acted for a time as Dayan, and where the first-fruits of his learning had been published. He came to London at a critical moment in the affairs of the community, and the task that lay before him was beset by many difficulties. The community, however, had been fortunate in its choice, and, with the assistance of its Haham, it recovered the stability that had for a time been in jeopardy. The congregation, however, was not yet out of the financial wood. In 1809 a meeting of the members was convened to take into consideration the state of its finances. It was then decided to rearrange the system of taxation, and at the same time the radius of four miles, within which no rival Sephardi congregation was allowed to meet, was extended to six. These measures proved successful, and after a few years the revenue and expenditure balanced once again. This fortunate state of affairs was to some extent induced by legacies by Joseph Barrow and Abraham Lopes Pereira.

Isaac d'Israeli.

The year 1813 is noteworthy in the annals of the congregation for the election of Isaac d'Israeli as involuntary *parnass*, and the consequent withdrawal of his family from the community. Until 1819 Portuguese was the sole official language of the congregation, but in that year English was raised to an equal position, and both languages remained for many years side by side in importance. Earlier efforts on behalf of congregational education had not solved all the problems that had to be faced, and the subject still continued to trouble the community. In 1821 the old school management was abolished, and the *Shaare Tikvah*, or Gates of Hope, a society for the support of the congregational charity school, was founded. Meldola's term of office was also noteworthy for the introduction to England of probably the most learned *Hazan* the community has yet possessed. David de Sola was born in Amsterdam in 1796, and came to London as assistant reader in 1818. Although at the time unacquainted with the English language, he speedily became one of the most accomplished writers of English in Anglo-Jewry, and one of its leading men of letters. During the forty-two years of his life in England he introduced English sermons into the community, translated the liturgies of both his own community and that of the Ashkenazim into English, translated, in conjunction with Morris J. Raphall, a portion of the Mishnah, helped to found the *Jewish Chronicle*, edited the ancient melodies of his community, and took a leading part in the literary revival that marked the middle of the nineteenth century.

Hazan de Sola.

The year 1822 furnished a warning of the hurricane that was about to break forth. The community had gradually become divided into two parties—the one on the whole English and liberal in religious matters, the other foreign and orthodox. In that year the first of the *Ascamoth* was transgressed, apparently without intention, by a section of the latter party, who, after spending together the evening of the Feast of Weeks in the study of the Law, had held divine service at its conclusion within the proscribed distance from Bevis Marks. The English party was then in power, and the offence was visited with severe penalties. The offending members were heavily fined, denied all synagogue honours for a term of two years, and refused admission to their seats, in place of which others behind the reading-desk were assigned to them. The offenders did not accept their punishment meekly. Law proceedings were at one time threatened, and the affair led to the temporary withdrawal of the delinquents from the congregation. A reconciliation was, however, ultimately effected. Moses Montefiore (1784–1885) had already by that date attained a leading place in the community, and had obtained a reputation for a remarkable display of philanthropy. Montefiore's influence also served to break down the prejudice that had lasted for more than a century against marriage with members of the Ashkenazi community. Montefiore had himself married a *Tudesca* or Ashkenazi Jewess, a daughter of Levi Barent Cohen, and by 1825 the *rapprochement* between the two communities had progressed so far that an Ashkenaz was actually called to the law in the Sephardi Synagogue.

Moses Montefiore.

Meldola died in 1828. After his death another committee was appointed to consider the spiritual condition of the community. The demands for improvements, tending to bring the synagogue service into closer accord with the spirit of the time, had not been stilled in the meanwhile. A member of the congregation, J. King, had in particular been most persistent in his pressure, despite the little encouragement he received. As a result of the report of this committee the children in the school were taught to chant. Various suggestions were made to improve the decorum at the services, the length of which was to a slight extent curtailed. At the same time the importance of the study of Hebrew was emphasized. All proclamations were in future to be made in English, in which language also sermons were to be delivered every Saturday afternoon. Before delivery, however, these sermons were to be submitted to three elders. The *Medrash* or Theological College was reorganized. The first English preacher among the Sephardim was David de Sola, although he had been preceded in the sister community in 1817 by Tobias Goodman of the

More reforms.

Western Synagogue. In 1839 a permanent choir was formed, and at the same time the infant school was founded.

A Jewish Renaissance.

Meanwhile the new forces that had gradually been arising in the community were collecting into one stream, whose strength increased with its progress. Symptoms of a Jewish awakening, such as the reorganization of the community, the introduction of English sermons, and the establishment of the Society for the Cultivation of the Hebrew Language and Literature have already been noticed. Soon the new spirit grew bolder. It was no longer content to bring its influence to bear only upon the extra-synagogal communities. It desired also to pass through the portals of the House of Prayer, but, on its threshold, all the forces of conservatism had drawn up, and the final struggle took place without rather than within the sacred fane. The small efforts that had been made to render the services more in accordance with the tastes of the more advanced section of the congregation had met with slight success. The removal of many of the Anglo-Jewish families, from the immediate neighbourhood of Bevis Marks to districts at some distance from the City, created a new want among those who desired to attend the synagogue, but who lived at too great a distance to do so.

The beginning of the Reform movement.

In 1836 a memorial was placed before the elders of the congregation, pointing out the continued want of decorum in the services, and the constant and, in the opinion of the memorialists, unnecessary repetition of certain prayers. The memorialists went further. They suggested the introduction of an organ into the synagogue, and the abolition of the second days of the festivals. Such suggestions aroused the horror of those who did not share them. The ultra-orthodox section of the congregation banded themselves together in the *Shomere Mishmeret Hakkodesh*, a society for upholding and preserving the traditional Jewish faith unchanged. The new society presented a memorial in thoroughgoing opposition to the recommendations of the previous one, of whose objects they said they approved, but to whose methods they were most strongly opposed. The excessive zeal of this new society, however, aroused in the minds of the wardens fears of its possible effects, and it was forced to dissolve. Steps were thereupon taken to improve the synagogue decorum, but the results gave little satisfaction, and by no means succeeded in removing the differences of opinion between the two parties.

In the sister community there were similar causes of dissatisfaction. As early as 1821 several of the leading members of the Great Synagogue pointed out to the authorities measures that they thought should be adopted in order to improve the decorum, and some of these were accepted three years later. The alterations that the petitioners had advocated in the first instance in both communities had been innocuous and even conservative, but, as time passed, extremists gained control of the party of reform. The demands increased, so that at length there could be no doubt that they had passed beyond the stage at which any representatives of orthodox Judaism could accept them. Throughout the European world there was at that time a wave of violent reform. In England the era was that of the Reform Bill and the Anti-Corn Law movement. In German Jewry the reform element had just raised its head, Geiger had burst forth with his assaults on rabbinic Judaism and his attacks on the orthodox liturgies. His onslaughts were not without effect on both camps in Anglo-Jewry. The Conservatives were made still more opposed to change; the Reformers increased their demands. To increase the misfortunes of the community the place of Meldola had not been filled, and Hirschell, the Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazim, was sinking in extreme old age towards the grave. Montefiore, sympathetically disposed towards the earliest demands of the progressive party, had, by their subsequent advances, been frightened back into the ranks of the Conservatives. The dissatisfaction of the Reformers continued to increase until, on the 15th of April 1840, after a second petition to the governing body of the congregation asking for moderate reforms had been disregarded, eighteen Sephardim and six Ashkenazim decided to establish the West London Synagogue of British Jews. On the opening of the new House of Prayer, whose ministers were David Wolf Marks and Albert Löwy, the Sephardi seceders sent a very temperate letter to the parent synagogue, reciting

Influence of German reform.

The Reform Synagogue established.

the alterations they had effected in the service and observances and the reasons for them, and stating their desire to participate in the work of the various communal societies with which they had hitherto been connected. The communication received scant consideration. An edict, signed by Hirschell and the members of the Sephardi Beth Din, denounced the secessionists. They were deprived of all their rights and privileges in their communities, and a solemn excommunication was, after an interval, passed upon them. This communication was sent to all the Jewish congregations of the kingdom. Those of Liverpool and Manchester returned it. That of Plymouth burnt it.

Nathan Adler elected Chief Rabbi.

In the meanwhile Hirschell died. It was thought that the breach might have been healed on the election of a successor. The vacant position was filled, after a short interval, by the election of Nathan Marcus Adler (1803–1890), Chief Rabbi of Hanover, and a collateral descendant of a predecessor in the English Rabbinate, Tewele Schiff. The hopes raised by Adler's election, however, were doomed to disappointment. The excommunication was confirmed and acquiesced in by all the Ashkenazi congregations of London with one exception, the Western Synagogue in the Haymarket, and the breach between the seceders and the parent community became definite. Repeated efforts were made to have the excommunication withdrawn, and, so far as the civil offence, the holding of worship within six miles of Bevis Marks, was concerned, it was removed in 1849. The new congregation, however, as distinct from its members, was refused recognition as Jewish, and the struggles over the attempt to obtain representation on the Board of Deputies reacted unfavourably on the contest that was then being waged for the admission of the Jews to Parliament. In 1864 the congregation at Bevis Marks rescinded the resolution forbidding the acceptance of offerings and legacies from members of the Reform Synagogue. Ten years later members of the West London Synagogue were permitted to represent synagogues other than their own on the Board of Deputies. In 1885 the last trace of dissension passed away, when, on the occasion of the reform of the constitution of the Board of Deputies, representation was no longer denied the Reform congregation.

The movement for reform, although resulting in the withdrawal of many of the greatest of the Sephardi families, was not without effect on the parent congregation. The condition of the Sephardi congregation was investigated, and, as a consequence, many minor reforms were adopted. Among the other steps taken was the opening of a branch synagogue in West London. If this step had been taken twenty years earlier the secession of 1840 would, in all probability, have been avoided, or, at any rate, considerably postponed.

Change in Sephardi policy.

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CHAPTER XXXII

THE DISABILITIES OF THE JEWS (1830–1855)

The distribution of the community.

IN the year 1830, that of the accession of William IV, the Jewish population of England was computed at 30,000 individuals, of whom two-thirds were resident in London and the remaining 10,000 in the provinces. In the metropolis there was a fairly large number of rich families, a very small middle class, and a very great preponderance of poor. So large was this preponderance that it is computed that of the 2,500 members of the Sephardi community in 1829, 1,200 were in receipt of relief from the synagogue, and a further number were on the verge of poverty. The rich class consisted, for the most part, of financiers and stockbrokers, such as Nathan Mayer Rothschild, Moses Montefiore, Isaac Lyon Goldsmid; of prominent merchants engaged in the West India and China trades; of diamond merchants; and of a few general merchants. Jewish professional men were few. Jews were still excluded from the Bar, and, although they had been admitted to the other branch of the legal profession for many years, the number of Jewish solicitors was small. The same could be said of another profession in which Jews have always taken a leading place—medicine. A solitary Jewish architect is known to have existed in England at that period.

The City of London.

The regulations of the City of London, which prevented any but freemen from engaging in retail trade within its boundaries, and refused admission to the freedom to all of Jewish birth, whether converted to Christianity or not, were the chief reasons for the small dimensions to which the Jewish middle class extended. The City regulations, however, had no force beyond its boundaries. East of Bishopsgate and west of Temple Bar Jews were as free as other sections of the population to engage in retail trade, and, in order that they might do so, a slight dispersion was effected. One result of this was apparent in the establishment of the synagogue in Denmark Court.

Jewish disabilities.

The number of disabilities under which the Jews of England laboured was considerable, but they varied in their pressure. Several were theoretical rather than practical, and the sole inconvenience to which they gave rise was the doubt in which the position of the Jews was placed. For instance, different opinions were held as to the right of Jews to hold land, and no one interpretation of the law on the point was accepted. There were, however, a number of definite legal enactments that discriminated against the Jewish inhabitants as compared with their Christian neighbours. Of these disabilities some were invariably enforced, others were sometimes enforced, and at others ignored, while still others had become dead letters but were always liable to revival. Summing up, English law as it affected Jews in 1830 excluded them from Parliament, from office in the army and navy and from any place of emolument or trust under the Crown. There were, in addition, positions from which they might be excluded if those in authority so wished. Jews might be debarred from voting at parliamentary elections if the returning officers cared to exercise their powers to the full. Their admission to the Bar depended entirely upon the attitude of the Inns of Court. It was only at the will of individual corporations that Jews could be admitted to offices connected with them.

At the Universities.

The University of Oxford, by requiring candidates for matriculation to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, excluded all but members of the Church of England. Cambridge allowed Jews to become undergraduates and to go through the University examinations, but that was the limit of toleration. No Jew could take a degree or obtain a scholarship, exhibition, or fellowship. James Joseph Sylvester (1814–1897), the mathematician, was the first professing Jew to enter the University of Cambridge. He was admitted in 1831, was Second Wrangler six years later, but did not graduate until 1872. The University of London had not yet been founded, and it was not until 1836 that Dublin, for the first time, conferred a degree on a Jew—Nathan Lazarus Benmohel. University College, London, the first unsectarian establishment founded for the purpose of higher education, was established in 1826, largely by the efforts and through the munificence of Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, but its creation was too recent to influence the generation of which we are writing.

The era of political emancipation that marked the close of the third decade of the nineteenth century raised high the hope of the Anglo-Jewish leaders that, when all other classes were being admitted into the full privilege of English citizenship, the discrimination against the Jews was about to pass away.

Catholic emancipation.

The Test and Corporation Acts were repealed in 1828, and the following year the Catholics were accorded political rights. The agitation that resulted in these successes had not been without the active sympathy of the Jews. If the former measures had been merely repealed, the gate that barred the way of the Jews to many privileges would have been unlocked, but the action of the House of Lords in inserting in the new declaration required on the acceptance of public office the phrase, ' on the true faith of a Christian ', prevented any such consummation. Although the Catholics and other Christian dissenters were admitted into the body politic, the Jews were still kept without.

Minor disabilities removed.

With the disabilities whose removal needed not the sanction of the legislature, more success was secured. In 1831 the restrictions imposed by the City of London on Jewish trade were removed—it was only three years earlier that the Corporation would unbend so much as to admit converts from Judaism to the freedom. Another barrier was removed in 1833 when Lincoln's Inn, without in any way exceeding its legal powers, called Francis Goldsmid (1807–1878), son of Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, and a great-nephew of Benjamin and Abraham Goldsmid, to the Bar after he had taken the usual oath, modified so as to be binding on his conscience, on a copy of the Old Testament. Two years later another difficulty was removed by an Act to simplify election to Parliament. Until that year an elector might be required to take the Oath of Abjuration, in a form unacceptable to a Jew, before being permitted to exercise the franchise. The Act of 1835 relieved all voters of the necessity of taking any oath. In 1836 a Jew was elected a governor of Christ's Hospital.

Jews admitted to the office of Sheriff.

In another sphere the battle for municipal emancipation was brought without much delay to a successful issue, mainly by the exertions of one man, David Salomons (1797–1873). In 1835 he had been elected Sheriff of London and Middlesex. Objections were raised to his serving, on the ground that it would be necessary for him to take the declaration required from the holders of corporate offices. The question was speedily settled on the initiative of Lord John Russell, who introduced and passed through Parliament a measure declaring that for admission to the office of sheriff the declaration was unnecessary. Salomons accordingly served his year of office, and was succeeded two years later by another Jew, Moses Montefiore.

David Salomons.

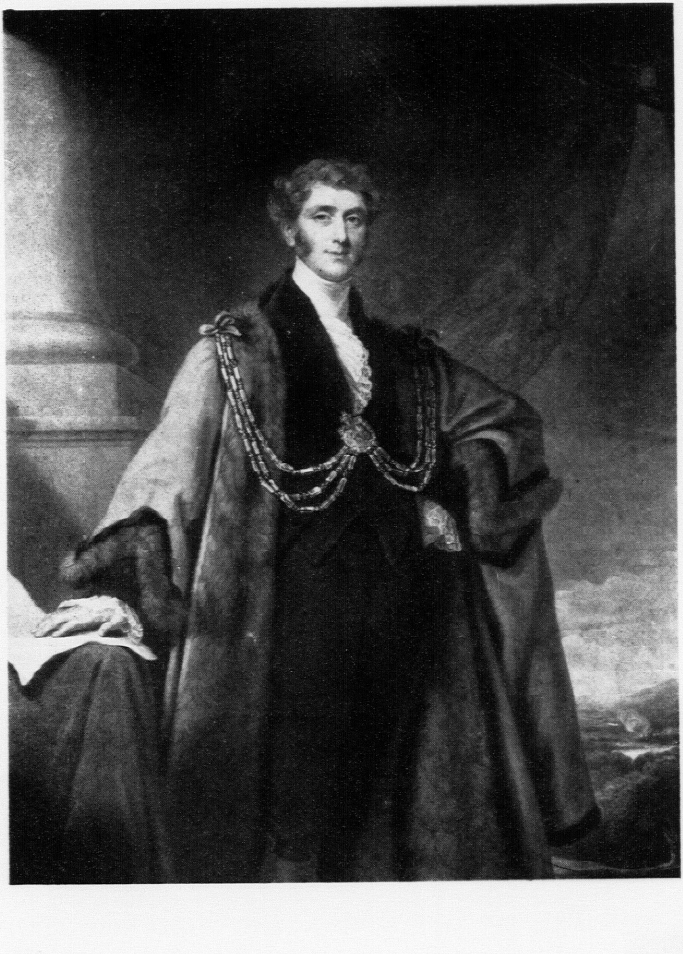
The Court of Aldermen.

The next step in the campaign was the election of Salomons in 1836 as an alderman of the City of London. After his election he, in due course, presented himself for the purpose of taking the municipal oaths of office, but asked to be excused from making the statutory declaration in the prescribed form. The Court of Aldermen had full power to grant the desired dispensation, and if they had done so would only have been following the example set by the Corporations of Portsmouth, Birmingham, and Southampton, which had already admitted Jews. The Court of Aldermen, however, took a different course, and refused to admit Salomons. He was repeatedly elected by different wards of the City, but the Court of Aldermen stood firm, and Salomons thereupon decided to appeal to the courts of law. The legal authorities were asked to compel the Court of Aldermen to admit Salomons after he had taken the municipal oaths without the declaration. The Court of Queen's Bench decided in his favour, but this decision was reversed on appeal. Salomons then petitioned Parliament to enable him to perform the duties for which he had been elected, but from which he was debarred by the Court of Aldermen. His petition had effect, and in 1841 a Bill 'For the Relief of Persons of the Jewish Religion elected to Municipal Offices' was introduced into the House of Commons. Prominent among the supporters of this measure were Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Bute. Nevertheless, the Bill was thrown out by the Lords, but four years later it was re-introduced by Sir Robert Peel's Government and became law. The Act threw open every municipal office to Jews, who by degrees took advantage of it. Salomons was immediately received into the Court of Aldermen, and served with distinction as Lord Mayor in 1855. Several important provincial corporations also welcomed Jewish burgesses to their councils. Many professing Jews became magistrates and high sheriffs of their counties, and no less than three, Moses Montefiore, Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, and Anthony de Rothschild, had the dignity of baronet conferred upon them before the portals of Parliament were opened to sons of the synagogue.

Municipal offices opened to Jews.

Jewish baronets.

Throughout the whole of this period the agitation for admission to the legislature had been incessant. The first step was taken immediately after the consummation of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, valuable support being given to the Jewish cause by Henry Fox, Lord Holland, the prominent Whig, and Lord Bexley, a Tory ex-Cabinet minister. In Anglo-Jewry practically the whole burden of the campaign rested on Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, his son Francis, and Barnard van Oven, a London physician. At that great moment in the history of toleration in England, it was thought that the completion of the victory by the admission of English Jews to full English citizenship could not long be delayed. This seems to have been the opinion of even the Tory Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, for, addressing a deputation of leading Jews, who, on the suggestion of Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, waited on him in the year of Catholic Emancipation, he showed himself by no means unsympathetic. Catholic Emancipation, however, he said, had created a great turmoil, and he advised the Jews to wait a short time until it had subsided. The advice was taken, and no action decided on until 1830.



SIR DAVID SALOMONS, BART., M.P.

Engraving by C. Turner, A.R.A., after Mrs. C. Pearson

The first Bill for political emancipation.

In that year Robert Grant, the Liberal member for Inverness, introduced a Bill for the removal of all disqualifications which prevented Jews from enjoying the same 'civil rights, franchises, and privileges' and from holding the same 'offices, places, employments, trusts, and confidences' as had, by the measure of the previous year, been thrown open to Catholics. The Government raised no objections to the introduction of the Bill, but opposed the motion for its second reading, and the Bill was defeated by a majority of 228 votes over 165. Parliament had been prayed to adopt the measure in numerous petitions from Jews and Christians, and an able exposition of the Jewish case had been drawn up and published by Francis Goldsmid. The supporters included members of both parties in the State, Lord John Russell and Macaulay and other Liberal leaders, Huskisson leading the moderate Tories. Of all the non-Jewish advocates of emancipation none surpassed in devotion and persistence Lord Holland, the nephew and disciple of Charles James Fox. On the other side were ranged, however, Sir Robert Peel, Gladstone, and Lord Shaftesbury, in addition to a number of other less distinguished politicians. Earl Grey, the Premier who had carried the Reform Act, remained throughout his life a steadfast opponent of Jewish emancipation.

Arguments pro and con.

The arguments in favour of the Bill were based on the principles of religious liberty. The opponents also took their stand on a principle. They contended that a country that was not governed by an exclusively Christian legislature could not be considered a Christian country. It was also argued that the Jew was cosmopolitan rather than English or French or Prussian, and did not look upon the country of his domicile in any light but that of a temporary resting-place; that the Jew considered Palestine as his only permanent home, and, in consequence, should not be entrusted with full citizenship in any other. The opposition was, for the most part, based on these lines, and few traces of a persecuting spirit could be found in it. Arguments on a lower plane, however, were not altogether excluded from the controversy. For instance, one member urged that if the Jews were admitted to Parliament

Religious opposition to Jewish emancipation.

'a few of the leading men among them would soon obtain as much influence there as they already possess over Three Per Cent. Consols'. Another begged the House 'in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to preserve the religion of Christianity, the religion of the State, from being defiled by the introduction of the Bill'.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

POLITICAL EMANCIPATION OBTAINED

(1830–1866)

Repeated passage of Emancipation Bills in the Commons.

THE rejection of the Bill of 1830 was merely an incident in the struggle. The step taken on this occasion was never repeated by the Lower House, for when a measure with a similar purpose was introduced in 1833, it was adopted and sent to the Lords, to whom, however, it proved unacceptable. This process was repeated in 1834 and 1836, but in the latter year the measure was no longer in charge of a private member, but of the Chancellor of the Exchequer of a Liberal Government. For the next ten years the emancipation movement made little progress. For five of them a Conservative Government was in power, and although it was during that period that admission to the municipalities was obtained, all efforts to obtain the opening of the doors of Parliament were futile. Moreover, the cause lost two of its most valuable parliamentary spokesmen by the deaths of Lord Holland and Sir Robert Grant, and both the general and the Jewish communities, engrossed in other troubles, allowed their interest in the struggle to relax. In 1837 a very definite step was taken, which, if it had proved successful, might have appreciably reduced the thirty years of agitation. It may be said that the Jewish advocates of political emancipation were divided into two parties, one constitutional and the other less so. The first consisted of the overwhelming majority of the communal leaders, who laboured to attain their object regularly and by parliamentary means. The other party consisted of David Salomons almost alone. Too impatient or impetuous to await the slow motion of the parliamentary machine, he

Salomons' first parliamentary contest.

wished, by his own effort, to assist it along its path. The example of Daniel O'Connell and the satisfactory consequence that followed it were before him, and Salomons desired to emulate the exploits of the Catholic leader. He obtained the nomination for the representation of Shoreham, and fought the constituency, but was defeated. Four years later, in 1841, he stood for Maidstone, but was again unsuccessful.

Although at first Salomons' views regarding the conduct of the campaign were not adopted by his fellow reformers, they were ultimately accepted as more likely to lead to success. The victories that had been obtained by Salomons in the municipal area had no doubt convinced all parties among the reformers that the only means of obtaining admission to the House of Commons was through a constituency. It was determined to nominate a representative Jew for election in the Liberal interest for a constituency in which that party had some chance of success—Salomons had on both occasions made attacks on Tory strongholds. Accordingly, Baron Lionel de Rothschild (1808–1879), the head of the Anglo-Jewish community and an acknowledged leader in the City, was nominated in conjunction with Lord John Russell, the Liberal Prime Minister, for the City of London at the election of 1847. Of the four members elected Rothschild was third. Salomons stood at the same election for Greenwich, but was again defeated.

Baron Lionel de Rothschild elected M.P. for the City of London.

Rothschild unable to take his seat in the House of Commons.

When Parliament assembled the new member for the City presented himself to be sworn at the table of the House, but being unable to take the oath 'on the true faith of a Christian', he was refused permission to take his seat. Almost the first business of the new Parliament was the consideration of a Bill, introduced by the Prime Minister, for the removal of the disabilities that excluded Jews from Parliament. The circumstances on this occasion attracted much attention outside of Parliament. Petitions for and against the Bill came from all parts of the country. Those in favour bore 300,000 signatures, while 56,000 petitioned against it. Among the petitions in favour of the Bill, one from the citizens of London was presented by the Sheriffs at the Bar of the House. The Bill was strongly supported by Lord George Bentinck and Disraeli, the leaders of the Tory party, as well as by Sir Robert Peel and Gladstone, who had changed their views. They were, however, so much in advance of their party that, in consequence of his action on the Bill, Bentinck was worried into resigning the leadership, in which he was succeeded by Disraeli, a baptized Jew. The Bill passed through all its stages in the House of Commons, but was rejected by the House of Lords. The same fate overtook a similar measure introduced the following year. Rothschild thereupon resigned his seat, stood for re-election, and was again returned to the House.

Another enfranchizing Bill rejected by the Lords.

Despite the result of the election, the Government decided for the time being not to urge forward the legislation necessary to enable the member for the City to take his seat. His constituents thereupon held a meeting, and resolved to ask their member to present himself at the House of Commons and offer to take the oath in the form binding on his conscience. Rothschild again presented himself at the House, and his request to be permitted to be sworn on the Old Testament was granted after debate. He then proceeded to take the oath, but on omitting the phrase to which he took objection he was requested to withdraw. The House proceeded to discuss the situation, and resolved that, though Rothschild could not act as a member of the House until he had taken the oath in the prescribed form, his seat was not vacant. Finally, it adopted a resolution to the effect that, at the earliest opportunity in the following session, the House would take into consideration the form of the Oath of Abjuration, with a view to relieve Jewish subjects.

Rothschild attempts to take the oath.

The resolution was acted upon in 1851, with the result that had attended previous efforts in the same direction. In the meantime, however, a second Jew had been elected to Parliament. David Salomons' first three attempts to obtain parliamentary honours had proved unsuccessful. On the fourth attempt, however, he had secured election, and it was as the member for Greenwich that he presented himself at the House of Commons the day after the rejection of the Emancipation Bill by the Peers. Being refused permission to take the oath after omitting the objectionable phrase, he withdrew from the

Salomons elected M.P. for Greenwich

House in obedience to the direction of the Speaker, but he left an inquiry whether, if he took his seat without having taken the full oath, the Government would sue him for the penalties provided by the Act of Parliament so that the question of right might be tried in a court of law. The Government intimated that in such an eventuality it intended to take no such action. Thereupon, amid great excitement, Salomons entered the House and took a seat on one of the benches on the ministerial side. Sir Robert Inglis, the veteran foe of emancipation, immediately rose to protest, but gave way to the Speaker, who directed Salomons to withdraw. Salomons ignored the direction, and considerable uproar ensued, in the course of which the Leader of the House, on the appeal of the Speaker, moved that Mr. Alderman Salomons be ordered to withdraw. The adjournment was moved and defeated, but Salomons managed to take part in the division. In the further discussion one of the speakers asked Salomons what he intended to do, and to the consternation of half the House the new member rose to explain his position. In a few well-chosen words he appealed to the indulgence of the House 'in the peculiar position' in which he was placed. While disclaiming a desire to do anything that might appear contumacious or presumptuous, he defended the course of action that he had thought right and proper to adopt, and concluded with an expression of the hope that in the then doubtful state of the law the House would not hastily arrive at any conclusion. The speech made a good impression and was received with cheers, but the Premier's original motion was carried, and Salomons removed by the serjeant-at-arms.

He takes his seat,

and is ordered to withdraw. He votes in the division and speaks.

By voting in three divisions without having previously taken the oath in the prescribed form, the member for Greenwich had rendered himself liable to a cumulative penalty of £1,500. The Government had announced that it did not intend to take any proceedings on that account, but that decision did not prevent action being taken at the instance of a common informer. The case was tried in the Court of Exchequer and decided against Salomons. Baron Alderson, in delivering judgment, expressed his regret at being compelled 'as a mere expounder of the law' to come to that conclusion. Two of his colleagues concurred, but the third, Baron Martin, expressed his conviction that the defendant had lawfully taken the oath. A similar conclusion to that of the Court of Exchequer was reached in a higher court, and Salomons would have carried the case to the House of Lords if he had not been defeated in the general election that supervened. By these decisions Salomons was not only mulcted in heavy fines, but also became liable to deprivation of the right to be a party to any civil suit, to be a guardian of a child, or an executor, and to the loss of several other rights of citizenship. The Conservative Government, however, immediately introduced and carried through Parliament a measure removing all these penalties, excepting the fine to which members of the House of Commons were liable for taking their seats before taking the oath, and, in order to cover the case of Salomons, the Act was made retrospective.

The question in the Law Courts.

The Conservative Government was short-lived, and in 1853 Lord Aberdeen introduced the old measure, which met with the usual fate. It was thereupon decided to adopt a new course of action. In the course of the last generation all the disabilities under which the Jews laboured, had, with one exception, been removed. The Bill, in the form in which it had been continually introduced, was no longer necessary. Accordingly, it was determined to deal with the parliamentary oaths alone, and Lord Lyndhurst introduced a Bill into the House of Lords for the purpose of striking out from them such portions 'as were inoperative, idle, and absurd'. He, however, failed to induce the Peers to accept his proposal. In the three successive years the Oaths Bill was defeated by the Lords, although in 1857 the Government accepted an amendment providing that no Jew should hold the office of Regent of the Kingdom, Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, or Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. In the session 1857–1858, the Bill was introduced again, and on this occasion not rejected by the Lords. They amended it, however, by omitting the clause that provided that a Jewish member of Parliament, when taking the oath,

A new proposal.

might omit the words containing the reference to Christianity. The Bill, if adopted in the amended form, would have merely consolidated the oaths to be taken by members, and would have left the Jewish question untouched. The Commons refused to accept the amendment, and appointed a committee to draw up the reasons for their disagreement. On this committee Rothschild was fully qualified by the Rules of the House to serve, and he was made a member of it. A conference ensued between the two Houses, but the Peers insisted on their objections, and would not even accept a compromise suggested by a Conservative Peer, Lord Lucan. This was to the effect that either House should be empowered by resolution to determine the form of oath to be administered in that House by persons professing the Jewish faith. This suggested compromise, however, formed the basis of legislation adopted on the motion of Lord Derby's Government in 1858, and, in consequence of it, Baron Lionel de Rothschild was enabled to take his seat in due form in the House of Commons on the 26th day of July of that year, eleven years after his first election for the City of London.

Rothschild a member of a parliamentary committee.

Political emancipation gained.

The position was rendered more secure in 1866 by the passage in that year of another Act replacing the three oaths, necessary to be taken on admission into Parliament, by one in which no phrase to which a Jew could object appeared. By this measure Jews were admissible to both Houses without any further resolution. Under it Lord Rothschild (1840–1915), a son of Baron Lionel, and for more than a generation the uncrowned king of Anglo-Jewry, was raised to the peerage in 1885 and duly took his seat. In 1890, in the course of a discussion on a Bill that proposed to open the offices of Lord Chancellor and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to all English citizens, irrespective of their religious beliefs, it transpired that, so far as Jews were concerned, the proposed legislation was unnecessary.

A Jewish peer.

Eligibility of Jews for certain offices.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

THE REORGANIZATION OF ANGLO-JEWRY (1807–1855)

Expansion of Anglo-Jewry.

IN Anglo-Jewry the nineteenth century was above all one of expansion. In London the Jewish population increased eightfold and outside of London twentyfold. New communities came into existence in all parts of the country, and in the Empire beyond the seas not only did small communities grow into great ones, but new ones came into existence in regions where hitherto scarce a Jew had dwelt. In the year 1900 Jewish communities existed in eighty-seven towns of the United Kingdom—seventy-six in England, five in Scotland, and six in Ireland. Of these only fourteen were a century old. The Jewish community of Edinburgh dates from the first years of the nineteenth century, the first synagogue building having been erected in the year 1816. That of Glasgow dates from about 1825, the oldest institution there being the cemetery which was acquired in 1830. The Jewish communities of Nottingham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Norwich, Leeds, Wolverhampton, Bradford, Sunderland, Sheffield, Belfast and Brighton are all more recent.

In Canada.

Outside of the British Isles the most important of the British-Jewish communities was that of Canada. The history of this community until the opening of the nineteenth century has already been sketched. There the struggle for political emancipation preceded that in the mother-country by a generation. In 1807 Ezekiel Hart (1767–1843) was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada. Presenting himself to take the oath of allegiance he demanded the right to do so in the Jewish manner. On the merits of the case his demand might very well have been granted, if it had not become a matter of contention between the two political parties. The English party supported his demand: as a matter of course therefore the French opposed it, and the latter were in a majority. The struggle continued for a quarter of a century before at last Jews were admitted to the Canadian Parliament. Hart was re-elected in the following year, took the oath in the Jewish manner, but on the New Testament, and actually sat and voted, but was expelled by the vote of the French majority 'because he professes the Jewish religion'. Parliament thereupon adopted a measure disqualifying Jews from membership so that there could be no doubt regarding the legal position. The matter was referred to the Governor-General's Council, who decided that the Jewish religion was no disqualification for membership of the Canadian Parliament and that the expulsion of Hart was illegal. The Governor thereupon dissolved Parliament without giving his assent to the obnoxious measure, but Hart did not stand again for election. No further attempt to secure political emancipation was made for several years, but early in 1831, encouraged by the grant two years earlier of the right to register the births, marriages and deaths of Jews, Samuel Becancour, a son of Ezekiel Hart, in the name of the Jews of Canada, petitioned Parliament to grant them political rights. On this occasion the proposal was practically unopposed. A Bill extending the same political rights to Jews as to Christians was introduced into Parliament and received the royal assent on the 5th of June 1832.

Australia.

Jews began to settle in Australia in the first years of the nineteenth century, among the earliest settlers being the brothers Jacob (1801–1895) and Joseph Barrow Montefiore (1803–1893). The first formal Jewish community in Australia was that of Sydney, formed in 1817, now the largest Jewish community in the Southern Seas. The second most important community was formerly Hobart, but with the vicissitudes to which Jewish communities in Australia are prone this has sunk to a handful, and the second place is now occupied by Melbourne, founded in 1839, whose Jewish population is now within a thousand of that of her elder sister. From the year 1855 the Jews of Tasmania received their share of the parliamentary vote for the maintenance of religion. The other principal Jewish communities in Australasia are Adelaide (1848), Ballarat (1853), Auckland (1859), Dunedin (1862), Brisbane (1864) and Perth, the third largest community founded as recently as 1892. The Jews of Australia have always taken an ample part in its public life. Jacob Montefiore was one of the founders of the colony of South Australia and one of the Commissioners for its Government. Both New Zealand and South Australia have had Jewish Prime Ministers, Sir Julius Vogel (1835–1899) and Vabian L. Solomon (*b.* 1849) respectively. There have been several other Jewish Cabinet Ministers, two Agents-General, a Speaker of the New South Wales Legislative Assembly, and Jewish mayors in almost every city of any importance.

South Africa.

There is no reliable evidence of any Jewish residents in South Africa before the year 1818, when Joseph Suasso de Lima, coming from Holland, settled in Cape Town. He was an eccentric, miscellaneous writer, bookseller, teacher and lawyer, who made so great a mark in his time as to give his name to a children's game still played by the children of Cape Town. At some period of his life he adopted Christianity, in which faith he died. A few years after de Lima, Nathaniel Isaacs (1808–1840) arrived in South Africa. Proceeding to Natal he was the pioneer of the opening of that territory. He, however, did not remain in South Africa permanently, and died while still a young man on the West Coast of Africa. A later prominent pioneer in Natal was Jonas Bergtheil (1815–1902), a German Jew who was resident in Cape Town when the first South African Jewish congregation was founded there in 1841. The number of Jews in South Africa then fell short of a score. Bergtheil was later elected a member of the Natal Legislative Council. Other early Jewish settlers in South Africa were Saul Solomon, who came from St. Helena and who gave in the person of his descendants several distinguished South African public men, Benjamin Norden, prominent in both Jewish and general circles, his relative Joshua Norden, who was killed in

1846 in command of his men in the course of the Kaffir War, Aaron and Elias de Pass, said to have been the first South African manufacturers and shipowners, Julius (1818–1880), Adolph and James Mosenthal, pioneers in the wool trade, Julius being the first Jew to be elected to the Cape Colony Legislative Council. Later came Simeon Jacobs (1830–1883), who was ultimately Attorney-General of Cape Colony. The second Jewish community in South Africa was that of Port Elizabeth, twenty-one years the junior of Cape Town.

Conditions in England.

As late as the fourth decade of the nineteenth century the Jews of England with few exceptions formed a self-contained community, keeping to itself socially and to a large extent commercially, as well as religiously. The exceptions consisted mainly of the wealthier members, who on their part furnished an undue number of recruits to the Church of England. Anglo-Jewry supplied the entire education for its children, and few of the schools available would be considered to-day of any value. As late as the year 1848 the Manchester New Synagogue, in a petition to the Jewish Board of Deputies, complained that there was among the Jewish population a larger amount of ignorance, want of employment, poverty and misery than elsewhere in the country. The Board was called on to bring this unsatisfactory state of affairs to a close, and somewhat inconclusively was assured that no improvement was possible 'so long as reporters of the Jewish Press were excluded' from its meetings. The Anglo-Jewish Press dated from the year 1841, when *The Voice of Jacob,* followed after a very short interval by *The Jewish Chronicle,* which has continued until the present day, first appeared.

In illustration of the influential position that the Anglo-Jewish community had attained by the middle of the nineteenth century, the story of the Damascus affair may be recounted. In 1840 the whole of Syria, including Damascus, was under the control of Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, who had rebelled against his Turkish sovereign. The dispute between the whilom viceroy and his master had been drawn within the vortex of the Eastern Question, and all the Great Powers of Europe found themselves interested in the struggle.

The Powers formed two groups. On the one side France lent the whole of her platonic support to the rebellious viceroy. On the other, Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia stood between Mehemet and the goal towards which he was striving, the sovereignty of the Turkish Empire.

The Damascus affair.

In the midst of these events, on the 5th of February 1840, Padre Tomaso, a Franciscan friar who was well known in the Jewish and Moslem quarters of Damascus as well as among the Christians, disappeared. There was every reason to assume that he had been murdered by a Moslem with whom he had had a serious dispute some days earlier. The Catholics, however, thought fit to accuse the Jews of the commission of a ritual murder. Supported by the French consul —the Catholics of the East were under French protection— representations were made to the authorities, and as a result the leading Jews of Damascus, men of position, wealth, and character, were thrown into prison and tortured with a view to forcing a confession of the crime. Several of them died from the severities they endured. The example set by the officials was followed by the populace. The Jewish quarter of Damascus was sacked, and its inhabitants treated barbarously. The French consul held what he presumed to designate a trial, deicded that the Jews were in the habit of using human blood in their Passover ceremonies, and found all the prisoners guilty. Urgent messages were thereupon sent to Mehemet Ali for permission to execute the prisoners. The news of these events reached London early in April. A meeting of the Jewish Board of Deputies to which representative Jews, reform as well as orthodox, and also Isaac Crémieux, the most distinguished of the Jews of France, were invited, was held. The British Government was approached, and Lord Palmerston promised every effort for the protection of the Jews of the East. At the same time a great undenominational meeting was held in the Mansion House, at which the Blood Accusation was denounced and the sympathy of the English people offered to the Jews. The Jews of England and France, working in unison, sent a mission, consisting of Montefiore, Crémieux, and Salomon Munk, the Orientalist, to Alexandria to plead the

The Jews appeal to the British Government.

cause of the Jews before the viceroy. The French Government and its representatives placed difficulties in the way of Montefiore and his colleagues, who were nevertheless successful. The imprisoned Jews were declared innocent, and those still alive, released. Moreover, Mehemet Ali himself assured the mission that he placed no credence whatever in the Blood Accusation. On the way home Montefiore visited Constantinople, and obtained from the Sultan the *Hatti Humayun*, in which the Blood Accusation was denounced as baseless and by which the disabilities peculiar to the Jews of Turkey were abolished, and they were placed in the eyes of the State on the same level as other non-Moslems.

Other foreign affairs.

The intervention of the Board of Deputies on behalf of Jews in foreign countries was repeated on many subsequent occasions, and wherever it was required the support of the British Government was readily obtained. Not only were representations made on behalf of the Jews of Turkey: those of Russia, Morocco, Greece, Persia, Rumania, and elsewhere had also the benefit of the Board's practical sympathy.

The co-operation of the Jews of the west in the Damascus affair also marked a new departure in the history of Jewry. The tendency started on that occasion was strengthened eighteen years later by the Mortara affair,[1] and resulted, in 1860, in the establishment of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, an association for the defence of Jewish interests whenever and wherever attacked. When, ten years later, the position of this international Jewish association was jeopardized by the Franco-Prussian War, a similar organization, the Anglo-Jewish Association, was founded in England. The intervention in the Damascus affair, and the prominent position occupied in it by England under Palmerston, led that statesman to consider the practicability of taking the Jews of the East under British protection, in the same manner as the Catholics were under the guardianship of France. A British Consulate had been established in Jerusalem in 1839 and the instructions given to the new consul had included one 'to

Palmerston and the Jewish question.

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[1] The kidnapping of a Jewish child in Italy and his forcible converson to Catholicism.

afford protection to the Jews generally'. After Montefiore's return, Palmerston obtained from the Porte a recognition of the right of England to watch over the fulfilment of the conditions of the new *Hatti Humayun*, and British consuls in the Ottoman Dominions were instructed to interest themselves in the welfare of the Jews, and to extend to them a sort of qualified protection.

The Mortara affair.

The Mortara affair aroused widespread indignation in Protestant as well as Jewish circles, and no doubt contributed to the ultimate deprivation of the Vatican of its temporal power. Montefiore, the President of the Jewish Board of Deputies, went on a mission to Rome armed with a petition from the Jews of England and warmly supported by the British Government to persuade the Pope to order the restoration of the child to his parents. The child had as an infant been secretly baptized by his nurse and was thereupon claimed and abducted by the Roman authorities. Montefiore's mission was fruitless, and the efforts of the French ambassador were not more successful. Even the Catholic Emperors of Austria-Hungary and France interceded personally, but in vain. The Board thereupon resolved to petition on behalf of the child and his parents the Congress of the Powers that was then considering the affairs of Italy, but this action also led to no result.

Chief Rabbi Adler's improvements.

The whole of the energies of the Anglo-Jewish community during the nineteenth century were not absorbed by the movements for ritual reform, political emancipation, and the protection of the Jews of the East. In many other directions also activity was shown. The great increase in the numbers of the Jewish population rendered communal reorganization imperative. The machinery that had served a small community collected around Aldgate and Bevis Marks proved inadequate for the large one scattered throughout the metropolis and the British Empire. In many directions rearrangements were necessary. The appointment as Chief Rabbi of Nathan Marcus Adler in 1845 proved most apposite. He was not only a Jewish scholar and rabbi, he was also a graduate of the Würzburg University and a Doctor of Philosophy of Erlangen. Despite his opposition to the Reform party, he was not one who considered all change harmful and unnecessary. Shortly after taking up his duties, he formulated 'A Code of Laws and Regulations for the Ordering of our Synagogue Services'. The condition of education, and especially higher education, also attracted his attention. He called upon the synagogues to take measures for providing for the religious education of the children of both sexes, whatever their means. Another movement to which he devoted himself was that for the establishment of a training college for the Jewish ministry. This bore fruit in the establishment of Jews' College in 1855.

The problem of poor relief was also taken up during these years. The schemes urged and discussed at the beginning of the century had had little result beyond the establishment of the Jews' Hospital and of the Jews' Orphan Asylum in 1831. The Jews' Free School was reorganized in 1817, and, through the munificence of members of the Rothschild family, arrangements made for the apprenticing to useful trades of many of its pupils. The relief of the poor was still in the hands of the synagogues, and consisted rather in the encouragement of mendicancy than in the assistance of the recipients to become useful members of society. The somewhat disorganized condition of communal affairs at this period led to a suggestion by Henry Faudel in 1842. Adler had not yet settled in the country, and the improvements that were due to his initiative were still unconceived. Faudel suggested the establishment of a general council which should be 'the governing body of the Jews in this country in all secular matters'. The intention was that it should administer all the existing Jewish charities, undertake the education, maintenance, and industrial training of all the children of the Jewish poor, and provide a higher class Jewish school for those of the better classes. Many of the points in his programme were subsequently adopted. The establishment of a Jewish representative organization to consider the problems that affect the community as a whole is still to come.

Faudel's suggested reforms.

Jewish Marriages and Schools.

Two points of contact with the State aroused much discussion and consideration over a long period in the nineteenth century. There had long been some indefiniteness regarding the validity in certain circumstances of Jewish marriages solemnized in the United Kingdom. English law and Jewish law were not in agreement over the degrees of affinity within which marriage was forbidden. The balance of opinion was, however, to the effect that in this respect Jewish law was overridden by English law, and that marriages which were invalid under English law were equally invalid whether or not the parties were Jews. In 1851 the Law Officers of the Crown specifically laid down that a marriage between Jews within the prohibited relationship was invalid, and this decision was accepted without further question. Six years later the Government proposed to leave divorces between Jews within the jurisdiction of the Jewish ecclesiastical authorities. The House of Lords, however, deleted the relative clause from the Divorce Bill. The Board on the motion of the Chief Rabbi petitioned the House of Commons to reinstate the clause, but this was not done. The other principal matter in which the Jewish community was in relation with the Government and the Legislature during this period was that of the Jewish Schools. In the year 1851 the Manchester Jews' School applied for a grant from the Government Education Fund, but was refused on the ground that it was a Jewish school. However, such grants were made to Catholic and Nonconformist schools, as well as those of the Church of England. The Jewish Board of Deputies naturally protested, and the Government, seeing the justice of the demand, gave way, provided that the Jewish schools were opened to non-Jewish children who were to be excused from attendance at religious instruction. Jewish children were at the same time free to enter those non-Jewish schools which received Government grants and to be excused from attendance at religious instruction there. In 1855 also began the series of proposed Sunday trading enactments from the incidence of which Jews were excluded.

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE LAST HALF-CENTURY

(1858–1918)

Charity organization.

THE adoption in London of a scientific treatment of Jewish poverty was delayed for several years. In this respect the provinces were in advance of the capital. Liverpool, the most progressive of the provincial Jewish communities, as early as 1845 established a society 'for the suppression of mendicancy and the more effectual relief of the deserving itinerant poor'. The nucleus of this new institution was derived from the relief machinery of the two local synagogues, but the institution itself was an independent organization. The lesson taught by Liverpool did not pass unobserved in London, where the three principal Ashkenazi congregations had co-operated in poor relief since the year 1835. The adoption of the new system was urged by the mathematician, Benjamin Gompertz (1779–1865), in an open letter to the Secretary of the Hambro Synagogue, but for the time being his representations met with no response. Gompertz was in advance of his time, but by less than two decades. In 1858, on the occasion of the exceptional distress and the consequent strain on the synagogue resources, the moral of the Liverpool experiment was again pointed. Lionel Cohen (1832–1887), a great-grandson of Levi Barent Cohen, and Ephraim Alex (1800–1882) were the pioneers on this occasion. The failure of Gompertz was retrieved by them, and on the 16th of March 1859 the first meeting was held of the Board of Guardians for the Relief of the Jewish Poor. So signal has been the success of this institution in all departments of philanthropic work, that its methods and organization are

The Jewish Board of Guardians.

held up as patterns to all similar institutions in the general community.

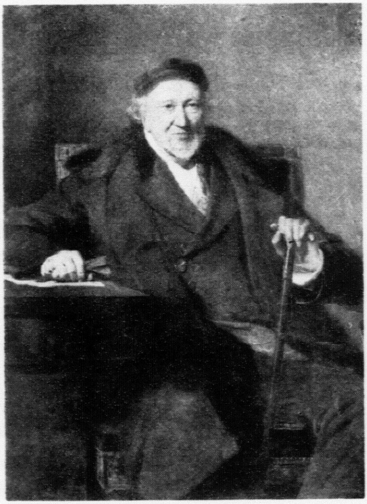
The United Synagogue.

Having succeeded in this direction, Lionel Cohen turned his attention to another movement of concentration that was urgently needed. Repeated efforts had been made in the past to effect some combination between the Ashkenazi synagogues of London, but the mutual rivalries had invariably prevented their success. In 1863 Cohen, who was at the time an officer of the Great Synagogue, endeavoured to arrange a union between that synagogue and the Hambro, but without success. Three years later, however, the chief rabbi seized an opportunity for urging a combination of all the metropolitan synagogues under his jurisdiction. The suggestion was adopted by Cohen, and as a result of a series of conferences over which he presided, the United Synagogue was brought into existence by Act of Parliament in 1870. A further step in the same direction was taken in 1887, when the majority of the small synagogues in the East End of London were, at the instance of Samuel Montagu, afterwards Lord Swaythling (1832–1911), brought together in the Federation of Synagogues.

Meanwhile a gradual *rapprochement* had grown up between the orthodox and reform parties in the community. The old bitterness had passed away, and in all branches of communal work outside of the synagogue there was hearty co-operation. Efforts were even made to effect a thorough and final reconciliation, but it was found impossible to arrange a compromise in matters of ritual that would have rendered possible an extension of the chief rabbi's authority so as to include the West London Synagogue. In the orthodox community a progressive spirit had begun to show itself, and efforts were continually made from within to render the ritual more in accordance with the times. The authorities showed themselves not unreasonable, and from time to time minor alterations and omissions were sanctioned.

Jews at the Universities and in public life.

In the year 1870 Montefiore College, Ramsgate, endowed by Sir Moses Montefiore, was opened. Originally it was intended to be a Jewish Theological Seminary, but after some years it was transformed into a home of rest for elderly Jewish



SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE, BART.

Engraving by T. L. Atkinson, after G. Richmond R.A.

LIONEL LOUIS COHEN, M.P.

HAHAM BENJAMIN ARTOM

CHIEF RABBI HERMANN ADLER

scholars. Numa Hartog (1846–1871) had graduated as Senior Wrangler at the University of Cambridge the previous year. There had been Jewish wranglers previously, Arthur Cohen (1829–1914) the jurist in 1852, and David Lindo Alexander (1842–1922) in 1864. Hartog's success sounded the death-knell of the disabilities of the Jews at these universities. They disappeared with the University Tests Act of 1871. A year after the abolition of the Tests, a Jew, Sir George Jessel (1824–1883), entered a Government of the United Kingdom for the first time, as Solicitor-General, and two years later he was raised to the Bench as Master of the Rolls. In 1878 another portal to the full English life was opened by the admission of observant Jews to Clifton College, and in 1885 the first Jew took his seat in the House of Lords in the person of Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild (1840–1915), the eldest son of Baron Lionel. At the same time the remaining political difficulties of the Jewish community as a whole were being removed by the Ballot Act of 1872, which enabled observant Jews to record their votes in a Saturday election without transgressing any of their religious ordinances, and by the Factory Acts of 1871 and later years, which permitted Jewish factories to be at work on Sundays and other prohibited times provided they were closed on the Jewish sabbath and festivals. At the same time the organization of Anglo-Jewry, especially on its charitable side, proceeded. In 1877 the two charities, the Jews' Hospital, for the care of the aged, and the Orphan Asylum, were united. An attempt was also made in this year to amalgamate three other institutions for the care of the aged, the Jewish Home, the Hand-in-Hand Asylum, and the Widows' Home. Five years later the two latter institutions joined forces and in 1895 they were strengthened by the adhesion of the Jewish Home, the resultant institution being known as the Home for Aged Jews.

The Anglo-Jewish Association.

In the year 1871 the Anglo-Jewish Association for the promotion of social, moral and intellectual progress of the Jews abroad, mainly in Asia and North Africa, and their protection was established, the founders being Abraham Benisch (1811–1878) and Albert Löwy (1816–1908), the minister of the West

London Synagogue. All the most prominent Jews of England at once joined the new Association, and its influence immediately made itself felt. This fell naturally into two departments. The less picturesque, but none the less valuable on that account, was that of the education on Western lines of the Jews of Turkey, North Africa and other relatively backward countries. In this department its principal work has been the maintenance of the Evelina de Rothschild School for Girls in Jerusalem. Its other function has been the representation of the interests of Jewry in those countries in which the Jews themselves were unable to make themselves heard. Throughout the period of the existence of the Association, with hardly an interval, the Jewries of Russia, Rumania, parts of Turkey, Persia, North Africa and the Balkan States have suffered disabilities and cruelties. The Association has always been foremost in making its voice heard on their behalf. Whenever the occasion seemed suitable the intervention of the British Government has been sought and it has seldom been withheld. It was mainly through the action of the Association that the Berlin Congress included in its settlement of the affairs of South-eastern Europe clauses that should have safeguarded the political and civil liberties of the Jews of Rumania and Servia. Whenever the conditions of the Jews of Russia took a turn for the worse the Association was alert to secure through the British Foreign Office any alleviation that was attainable. With the Governments of the minor Powers the efforts of the Association and the British Government were more effective. Jacob Waley (1819–1873), Professor of Political Economy at University College, London, was the first President of the Association. The Vice-Presidents included Sir Francis Goldsmid, the pioneer of political emancipation, his nephew Sir Julian Goldsmid (1838–1896), Deputy-Chairman of Committees of the House of Commons and Privy Councillor, Sir George Jessel, Sir David Salomons and Sir John Simon (1818–1897), a prominent counsel and member of Parliament. In succession to Waley, Baron Henry de Worms (afterwards Lord Pirbright) (1840–1903), who held office in more than one Conservative ministry, Sir Julian Goldsmid, Mr. Claude Goldsmid-

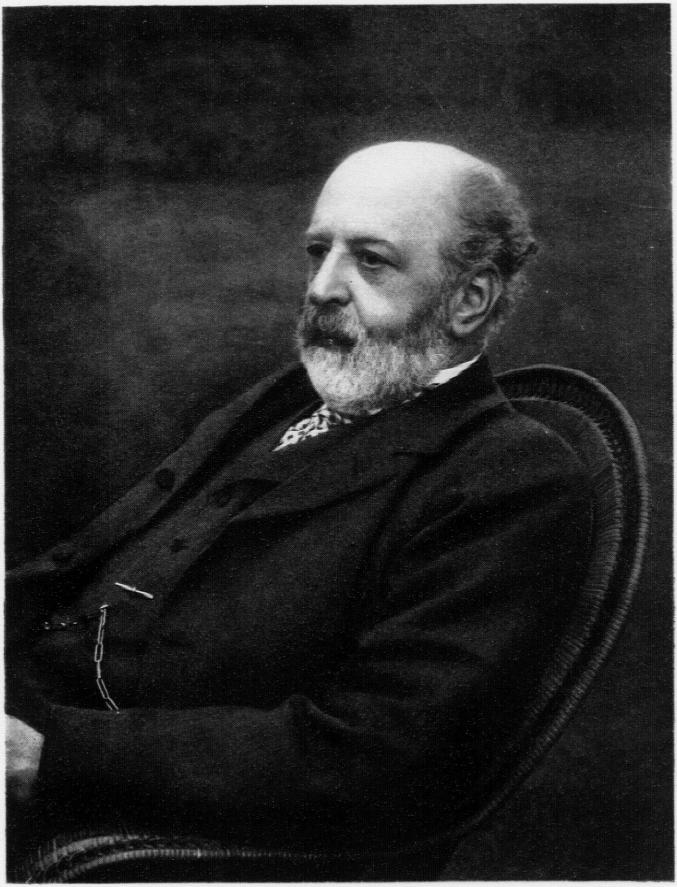
Montefiore (*b.* 1858), Mr. Osmond d'Avigdor-Goldsmid (*b.* 1877) and Mr. Leonard Montefiore (*b.* 1889) have been president.

The new institution encroached to some extent on the province which had hitherto been occupied by the Board of Deputies and the relation between the two bodies immediately came up for settlement. The Board of Deputies at first resented the appearance of the new-comer, or at any rate its interest in foreign affairs, but this attitude had to be abandoned, and by May 1878 an agreement for co-operation in representations on behalf of Jews abroad had been reached. This agreement at first took the form of the appointment of two committees sitting together. From this a joint committee developed. Ultimately the Anglo-Jewish Association accepted representation in the Board of Deputies, but the Joint Foreign Committee of the two bodies continued.

Morocco and Russia.

Until the year 1880 many of the Jews of Morocco had enjoyed British protection, and the knowledge that there was always a powerful friend close at hand gave them some degree of security. In that year, however, the Foreign Office decided that this protection could no longer be continued. The withdrawal was immediately marked by the murder of twelve Jews. In most cases no redress was obtained, but the British Government at once reversed its policy to the extent of authorizing its Consul-General to accept and transmit appeals from Jews who could not otherwise obtain a hearing. The following year was that of the intensification of the persecution of the Jews in Russia. Unsuccessful attempts were made to induce the British Government to intervene on their behalf. They, however, declined to do so, even in the case of Leon Lewisohn, an English Jewish merchant who had been expelled from Russia, where he had been on a business visit, on account of his religion. Anglo-Jewry, acting through the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association, however, formed with nation-wide support a committee for the relief of the persecuted Russian Jews. Expressions of sympathy came from all parts of the population, even from Parliament. From England the movement spread throughout the civilized world. Samuel Montagu, Frederic Mocatta (1825–1905) and Asher Asher (1837–1889), prominent English Jews, and Laurence Oliphant (1829–1888), that interesting Englishman, went to Galicia to organize the emigration of Russian Jews to the United States. Nine years later, in 1890, when there was another outburst of violent anti-Semitism in Russia, a protest meeting under the chairmanship of the Lord Mayor, in which the heads of the churches and other leaders in political and civic life took part, was held in the Guildhall of the City of London and a remonstrance, which was rejected, was sent to the Russian Government. Other similar meetings of protest were held in Bristol, Manchester, Glasgow, and Birmingham.

Immigration. The persecutions of the Jews in Russia, and to a less extent in Rumania, led to a great Jewish exodus from those countries, the stream of which flowed partly into the United Kingdom. As a consequence not only were the numbers of Anglo-Jewry greatly increased in the years that followed 1881 and 1890, but the character of the Anglo-Jewish population underwent a change. Previous to the year 1880 the Jews of England had been to a large extent, perhaps mainly, of English birth, and among those who had come from abroad German, Austrian and Hungarian Jews predominated. Those of Russian and Rumanian birth were less in number. By the last years of the nineteenth century these relative proportions had undergone a change, and the Jews of Russian and East European origin predominated in Anglo-Jewry. The change was not only racial: it was also economic. The new-comers included a larger proportion of working men, and their presence aroused a fear in England, lest their competition might depress the standard of living of the English working classes. Hence arose a movement for the control and restriction of alien immigration into England, which led to the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration of 1902 and its report advocating restriction. This Report was made effective in the Aliens Act of 1905. Subsequent legislation still further restricted foreign and, incidentally, Jewish immigration into England, and in consequence the foreign proportion in the Jewish population of England continuously fell.



NATHAN MEYER, FIRST LORD ROTHSCHILD, P.C., G.C.V.O.

The Chief Rabbinate.

Haham Benjamin Artom (*b.* 1834) died in 1879. No successor was appointed for eight years. For the office Dr. Moses Gaster (*b.* 1856), a Rumanian scholar, a refugee in England, was then chosen, he being the only Ashkenazi Jew ever to have held the office. Three years later the Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi, Nathan Adler, died and a movement immediately arose for the 'comprehension of the English Jews under one presiding chief Rabbi' with 'a certain latitude to individual congregations within well-defined limits, to vary the present order of Divine Service in some details'. A contemporary movement proceeded in the direction of the modernization and modification of the powers of the Chief Rabbinate. The proposals were considered by a conference of all Anglo-Jewish congregations, but as the Sephardi and Reform communities refused to take part the proposal for some sort of amalgamation under one Chief Rabbi was obviously doomed to failure. The Reform community, however, offered to co-operate with the United Synagogue in a proposal known as the East End Scheme, for the spiritual and social welfare of the Jews of East London. This, however, also came to nothing. Hermann Adler (1839–1911), who had acted for many years as Deputy to his father, was thereupon elected Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi. By him some minor ritual modifications were introduced, but his first year of office was more noteworthy for the inhibition, on the ground of his expressed views on sacrifices and other points, of the Rev. Morris Joseph (*b.* 1848) from holding further office in an orthodox congregation. Mr. Joseph subsequently became a minister of the West London or Reform Synagogue.

In the meanwhile a religious movement far more radical than that of the Reformers of 1840 or their successors, and closer to that of the Liberal Jews of Germany and the United States, began in the year 1901. It arose out of consideration of the question how to stem the flow of Jews and Jewesses away from the synagogue and ultimately into the ranks of Christendom. Both orthodox and reform Jews, clerical as well as lay, took part in the first deliberations, and it was resolved to organize services supplementary to those of the synagogue on Saturday afternoons, in which English would hold the principal place, and the prayers and other arrangements, while Jewish, would be more in accordance with modern English usage than were those of the synagogue. The lead in the new movement was taken by Mr. Claude Goldsmid Montefiore, Israel Abrahams (1858–1925), the most prominent Anglo-Jewish scholar of his day, and Miss Lily Montagu, a daughter of Lord Swaythling, the pillar of orthodox Judaism in England. The new movement was known as the Jewish Religious Union. It at once aroused deep interest and keen controversy in Anglo-Jewry. Pressure of public opinion soon compelled those ministers of the United and Reform Synagogues, and also the honorary officers of the United Synagogue who had taken part, to withdraw, but the movement did not succumb on that account. Its offer to hold its services in the synagogue of the Reform congregation, or one of those of the United Synagogue, was rejected. It was therefore compelled to find accommodation of its own. Its numbers grew and grew. A minister, Dr. Israel Mattuck, was brought from the United States, and assistants found in England. A permanent synagogue—one of the largest in England—was erected. Branches were formed in other parts of London, and in due course the new community took its place as the Liberal Jewish Synagogue among the religious communities of England.

Adler died in 1911, and Dr. Joseph Herman Hertz (*b.* 1872), an American rabbi, who had, however, held office in South Africa for many years, was elected in his place after an interval of two years. In 1918 the Haham, Dr. Moses Gaster, resigned. The Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887 opened a new avenue in Jewish activity—the study of Anglo-Jewish history and archæology. There had been earlier students of Anglo-Jewish history, notably James Picciotto (1830–1897), Myer Davis (1830–1912), Joseph Jacobs (1854–1916) and Mr. Lucien Wolf (*b.* 1857), but they had been solitary students cut off from one another. The Exhibition, among whose organizers Jacobs and Mr. Wolf were prominent, not only brought these students into touch with one another; it gave an impetus to the study of Anglo-Jewish history. Out of the Exhibition grew direct the Jewish Historical Society of England and less directly the

Distinguished English Jews.

Maccabaeans, a society of Jewish professional men. To English literature, apart from those already named and mentioning only the dead, Jewry in the nineteenth century has given Lord Beaconsfield (1805–1881), Grace Aguilar (1816–1847), Sir Francis Palgrave (1788–1861), Israel Zangwill (1864–1926), Sir Sidney Lee (1859–1926); and to archæology, Sir Charles Waldstein (Walston) (1857–1927); to art, Simeon Solomon (1834–1905) and Solomon Joseph Solomon (1860–1927); to music, Sir Julius Benedict (1804–1883), Sir Michael Costa (1808–1884) and Henry Russell (1812–1900); to science, James Sylvester, Ludwig Mond (1839-1909), Raphael Meldola (1849–1915) and Mrs. Hertha Ayrton (*d.* 1923); and to political economy, Leone Levi (1821–1888). Jewish scholarship owes to Jewry the names of Tobias Theodores (1808–1886), Emmanuel Deutsch (1829–1873), Marcus Kalisch (1828–1885), Louis Loewe (1809–1888), Joseph Zedner (1804–1871), Solomon Mayer Schiller-Szinessy (1820–1890), Adolph Neubauer (1832–1907), Michael Friedländer (1833–1910), Solomon Schechter (1847–1915), Israel Abrahams (1858–1925); medicine, Sir Felix Semon (1849–1921); and the law, Judah Benjamin (1811–1884), Sir George Jessel, Arthur Cohen, and Sir George Lewis (1833–1911).

With the removal, in 1858, of the last bar to the full emancipation of the Jews, every road in the State was opened to members of the Jewish community, and there are none that have not been traversed. Every Parliament since the time of Baron Lionel de Rothschild and Sir David Salomons has had its professing Jewish members. Jews have attained almost the highest rank in the State. Sir Herbert Samuel (*b.* 1870), after having filled several Cabinet offices including that of Home Secretary, was appointed, at the conclusion of the European War, British High Commissioner in Belgium, and later the first British High Commissioner in Palestine. Still more picturesque and dramatic, to be compared only with a chapter from Oriental history or one of the Thousand and One Nights, has been the amazing career of Mr. Rufus Isaacs (*b.* 1860), now Marquess of Reading. Step by step from the position of ship's boy, a truant from home, he has risen to be member of Parliament, Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, Cabinet Minister, Lord Chief Justice, Ambassador Extraordinary to the United States, and Viceroy of India. In every office his success was acclaimed universally, and his career is not yet ended. Edwin Montagu was Secretary of State for India during the earlier period of Lord Reading's term of office as Viceroy. The Council of India, the higher branches of the Civil Service at home and abroad have had their Jewish members, notably Sir Barrow Ellis (1823–1887), a member of the Viceroy's Council and of the Indian Council in London; and Sir Lionel Abrahams (1869–1919), Financial Secretary and Assistant Under-Secretary of State at the India Office among the dead; and Sir Matthew Nathan (*b.* 1862), one of several brothers who have served the State in high office, Secretary to the Post Office, Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, Permanent Under-Secretary to the Government of Ireland and Governor of five colonies, among the living. Lieut.-General Sir John Monash (*b.* 1865) was in command of the Australian forces in France during the European War, in which not only British Jews took their places on the battlefield by the side of their non-Jewish fellow citizens, gained glory and distinction and gave their toll in the long lists of killed, wounded and missing, but also provided specific Jewish battalions recruited from among alien Jews resident in the United Kingdom, other parts of the Empire, and North and South America. The Zion Mule Corps, which played its part in the Gallipoli Campaign, was recruited in Egypt, mainly from among Jewish refugees from Palestine. Five battalions of the Royal Fusiliers were recruited entirely from among foreign Jews for service in Palestine.

Jews in public life.

There is one other direction in which Anglo-Jewry developed during the second half of the nineteenth century. Previous to the attainment of political emancipation the public life of the Jew was limited to the Jewish community. The gates of the wider life of the country were practically barred to him and his public spirit had to satisfy itself in the synagogue and the Jewish Board of Deputies. The last of the barriers was brought down in the year 1858, and henceforward every field of public life was open to the Jew. For the next generation

Hay Wrightson

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF READING
P.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.

THE RT. HON. SIR HERBERT SAMUEL
G.C.B., G.B.E.

the leading Jews of England filled a dual rôle. They retained their leadership of Anglo-Jewry: at the same time they stretched forth into general public life where their abilities gave them the opportunities for service that they deserved. To this generation belonged Sir David Salomons, Sir Benjamin Phillips, Sir Barrow Ellis, Lord Pirbright, Sir John Simon, Sir Francis Goldsmid, Frederick Goldsmid and his son Sir Julian, Arthur Cohen, Sir George Jessel, Baron Lionel de Rothschild and his brothers, and a little later the first Lord Rothschild, the first Lord Swaythling, Sir George Faudel-Phillips, the first Viscount Bearsted and Sir Isidore Spielmann, all prominent equally in general and Jewish public life. This was the generation of Jewish emancipation and they were to some extent its children. The next generation looked more to the wider than to the narrower sphere of activity. As a consequence, England now receives more from prominent English Jews than does Anglo-Jewry.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

ENGLAND AND PALESTINE

(1650–1922)

THE English, as 'a people of the Book', have at all times since the Reformation shown a special interest in the Jews and in Palestine. Mention has been made in a previous chapter of the contribution of this interest towards the Re-Settlement in the seventeenth century. A few years later, at the time of the Turkish-Jewish pseudo-Messiah, Sabbathai Zevi, the interest went so far that Englishmen and women were seriously considering the possibility of adopting Judaism so as to have a share as Jews in welcoming the Messiah on his imminent appearance in Palestine. But until the nineteenth century the interest of the English people in the Jews in connexion with Palestine was capricious. From the beginning of that century it was consistent and continuous. Napoleon's offer of the Holy Land to the Jews had its immediate echo in England. In 1822, thirteen years after its foundation, the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews turned its attention to Palestine, where nineteen years later it succeeded in securing the appointment of a baptized Jew, Michael Solomon Alexander (1799–1845), as the first Anglican bishop in Jerusalem. At the same time the question of the re-settlement of the Jews in Palestine began to be discussed, notably by British travellers such as Sir Moses Montefiore, James Silk Buckingham, the member of Parliament, Michael Russell, Bishop of Glasgow, and Lord Lindsay. A writer in *The Times* of 1840 actually suggested that the British Government should buy Palestine and settle the Jews there. This cause was advocated for both political and

A Jewish Bishop in Jerusalem.

philanthropic reasons and secured the warm support of Lord Shaftesbury, who had the ear of Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, and it was probably at Shaftesbury's instance that the Jews of Turkey were given a measure of British protection at this time. So far as the re-settlement of Jews in Palestine was concerned, his interest, however, had no practical result, but it never slackened, and so late as the year 1882, three years before his death, he was the very active president of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Jews in Palestine, formed by the British Consul in Jerusalem, James Finn, and his wife.

In the meanwhile the British interest in the re-settlement of the Jews in Palestine continued. It arose at one time in a Jewish mind, at another in a Christian one. Nor was it confined to the British Isles, or even the Old World. A military officer named Churchill, who had settled in Syria, advocated the establishment of a Kingdom of Judah, but this proposal received no encouragement from either Jew or Gentile. In 1844 a clergyman named Crybbace founded a still-born society for the restoration of the 'Jewish Nation' to Palestine. He combined politics with religion and charity, for he recognized the great political advantage to Britain of having Palestine in friendly hands. A contemporary named Bradshaw, also a Church of England clergyman, called upon the State and the churches to contribute £5,000,000 as a means to the same end. And in the same year a Colonial Civil Servant named Mitford came forward with a proposal for the 're-establishment of the Jewish nation in Palestine under British protection'. The most influential of all of this small group of Christian Zionists was, however, George Gawler, who had just retired from the governorship of South Australia, when in 1845 he put forward his proposals for the Jewish colonization of Palestine. His proposals were far more moderate than those which he termed the 'wild schemes' of his contemporaries and were improved by experience and common sense. The gradual colonization of Palestine by Jews, first in small settlements, ultimately extending to larger ones, under the protection of Great Britain, was his programme, and this was ultimately and by steps adopted after the lapse of three-quar-

Gawler and the Colonization of Palestine.

ters of a century. Gawler obtained influential Jewish and Christian support. The Crimean War, however, prevented any further steps for some years, but after the last ripples of that storm had passed away, the Turkish Government went so far as to offer a welcome to Jewish settlers with a promise of a wide measure of autonomy and free grants of land to those who would become Ottoman subjects. After Gawler came in succession a number of English societies for the encouragement of the Jewish colonization of Palestine, all including British protection in their programmes, but none of which had any practical effect. The only institution that showed results was that of Abraham's Vineyard formed by James Finn, the British Consul, and his wife, for the employment of the starving Jews of Jerusalem. At a later date Claude Reignier Conder, the archæologist, threw himself wholeheartedly into the movement for the colonization of Palestine by Jews which had arisen in Jewry and had its society in Anglo-Jewry also. At first he co-operated with Laurence Oliphant, to whom the beginnings of the present phase of colonization are, to a large extent, directly and indirectly due. Conder, the most enthusiastic, was not the only member of the Palestine Exploration Fund circle, to advocate the Jewish colonization of Palestine. Lord Kitchener, Sir Charles Warren and Sir Charles Wilson, mentioning only the best known, all shared his views.

The Zionist Organization.

In the year 1897 the age-long longing of the Jewish people for their ancient land took a form in the creation of the Zionist Organization by an Austro-Parisian journalist, Theodore Herzl, whose picturesque and magnetic personality seemed capable of removing mountains. Wherever he went he gained a ready ear, from both Jew and Gentile. But those who were willing to listen were not always willing to act or to give. Among the Jews of Europe he gained a great following, which, however, included hardly a single influential or wealthy name. The tinge of nationalism with which the new movement was touched was looked at askance by the assimilated Jews of Western and Central Europe. Of Christians of influence and position there were probably more than there were of Jews of a similar class to come under Herzl's inspiration. In England he counted among his sympathizers the Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, the Foreign Secretary Lord Lansdowne, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lord Percy, not to mention distinguished private citizens such as Holman Hunt the painter, and Sir William Hall Caine the novelist. The purpose of Zionism as defined by the Zionist Organization was 'to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law', but this aim, despite frequent piquant and mysterious interviews with foreign rulers and statesmen, tarried longer and encountered more difficulties than its enthusiastic advocates had expected. At this juncture came the suggestion that Jewish colonization on the autonomous lines laid down by the Zionist Organization should commence in the El Arish district, on the edge of Palestine, but politically a part of Egypt. Both the British and Egyptian Governments were favourably disposed, but when the site of the proposed settlements was investigated it was found to be unsuitable.

This was, however, not the end of the practical interest of the British Government in the Zionist projects at that time. A year later came a more remarkable invitation. This was no less than the offer of the allocation of wide lands in British East Africa for Jewish colonization on an autonomous basis. Herzl and the Western Zionists would probably have accepted the offer, but the intransigeance of the Zionists of Eastern Europe could not be overcome. To them it was *aut Palestine, aut nihil.* The dream of Palestine meant far more to them than the reality of East Africa, and the offer was politely, perhaps regretfully, declined. Before that decision was reached Herzl, exhausted by his efforts on behalf of his people, had died at the age of forty-four, and the Zionist movement and Organization, which during the last few years of his lifetime had been in the full glare of the diplomatic stage, sunk back into twilight.

The European War.

This was the situation when the European War broke out in August 1914. The Zionist Organization still existed and was guided by an executive of six members, of whom four were in Germany, the head-quarters of the Organization, a fifth in Russia, and the remaining member in the United States; of the six members three were Russians, two Germans and the sixth an Ottoman subject. The Organization as an international arm was obviously palsied and was incapable of activity until the end of the war. However, the declaration of war with Turkey had as one of its effects in England the revival of an interest in the fate of Palestine and the connexion of the Jewish people with that fate. Turkey was announced to be in liquidation, and the disposal of her outlying regions became at once a matter of practical politics. It happened that the staff of the Manchester University at that time included a Russo-Jewish chemist who had settled in England some years earlier and adopted British citizenship. Even during his student days Dr. Chaim Weizmann (*b.* 1874) had devoted all the thought and energy he could spare from his studies to the cause of Zionism. In the councils of Zionism he had attained an influential position in the ranks of those who were cultural Zionists as opposed to political Zionists, the party of Herzl and his immediate successor, among those to whom the colonization of the land was of more consequence than political movements elsewhere. To the cultural Zionists the re-creation of the Jewish civilization was of far more importance than the creation of a Jewish State. To them the return of the Jews to Palestine was but a means to an end, for in a Jewish environment drawing its inspiration from the spirit that possessed the ancient home of the Jewish people only could Jewry cleanse itself from the accumulation of centuries of exile, and recreate itself spiritually. Weizmann's views were known and shared by a small circle of Jews and non-Jews, some of considerable influence, but in time of peace they were naturally but academic and of little practical consequence. The first shot of the war at once changed their character, and Weizmann as the leading protagonist of Zionism in England immediately became a man of political consequence. An interview with Mr. Lloyd George, after the Prime Minister the most influential member of the Cabinet, was arranged and his support was immediately promised. Mr. (now Sir) Herbert Samuel, a Jewish member of the Cabinet, was also present and his interest was also secured. Mr. A. J. (now Earl) Balfour, a former Conservative Prime Minister, was the most influential Englishman outside of the Government. Dr. Weizmann secured his interest also without difficulty. The practical encouragement of a Jewish settlement in Palestine was by now a part of British foreign policy. Many of the details had, of course, to be worked out and preparations made for the day on which a settlement of the affairs of Turkey would have to be undertaken. To this end Dr. Weizmann and Mr. N. Sokolow, a Russian member of the Zionist Executive who had in the meanwhile come to London, co-operated on the part of the Zionists with Sir Mark Sykes as the representative of the British Government. The Allied Governments were kept informed of the successive steps, with which they agreed, and the negotiations culminated in the Balfour Declaration of November 1917, which was hailed at once in all countries as the Charter of Jewry. The Declaration, which was in the form of a letter from Mr. Balfour, by then Foreign Secretary, to Lord Rothschild as representing the Zionists of England, was as follows:

The Balfour Declaration.

> 'His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.'

In the meanwhile the British armies were slowly but surely conquering Palestine. Jerusalem fell to the British arms within a few days of the date of Mr. Balfour's historic letter, but another year had to pass before the Turkish armies had withdrawn from central and northern Palestine and the British occupation was complete. Some months before that consummation the Zionist policy of the British Government was again made manifest to the world by the arrival in Palestine of a small commission of English Zionists sent at the invitation of the British Government, with the joint mission of directing, in many matters governing, the Jewish population of Palestine and of acting as the liaison between that population and the

Government of the country. That commission became permanent, and under the name of the Palestine Zionist Executive directly or indirectly directs most of the public Jewish activities in Palestine, and is at the same time consulted by the Government in all matters that affect the interests of the Jewish population. The terms of the Balfour Declaration were in due course incorporated in the treaty between the Allied Powers and Turkey which was signed at Lausanne, and the Mandate for the Government of Palestine, entrusted at the wish of the Zionists of the world, by the Allied Powers to Great Britain. This Mandate, after reciting the Balfour Declaration and acknowledging the historical connexion of the Jewish people with Palestine and the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country, contains articles making the Mandatory responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as would secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, recognizing an appropriate Jewish Agency—the Zionist Organization is named—as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, laying down that Jewish immigration, close settlement by Jews on the land and the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine should be facilitated by the Government, and that Hebrew, in common with English and Arabic, should be an official language of Palestine.

The Mandate for Palestine.

This Mandate was signed on the 24th of July 1922. Two years and twenty-four days earlier a British civil administration had been established in the country, with Sir Herbert Samuel, an English Jewish statesman, at its head as High Commissioner.

Authorities :—N. Sokolow, *History of Zionism* (1919); A. M. Hyamson, *British Projects for the Restoration of the Jews* (1917); 'British Projects for the Restoration of Jews to Palestine' (*Publ. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 26, 1918); 'The Zionist Movement during the War' in *Awakening Palestine* (1923).

ANGLO-JEWISH CHRONOLOGY

	YEAR
Earliest suggested settlement in the time of Solomon	B.C.E. c. 930
Supposed visit of Baruch and Jeremiah to Ireland	B.C.E. c. 580
Suggested Jewish settlement by Julius Caesar	A.C.E. 54
Possible importation of Jewish slaves on capture of Jerusalem	70
The enactments of Theodore of Canterbury	669
Immigration of German Jews	810
Jewish references in *Whitglaff's Charter*	833
Settlement of Norman Jews	*c.* 1066
Jews settle in Cambridge	1073
Jews settle in Oxford	*c.* 1075
Five Jews land in Ireland	1079
William II forces Jewish apostates to return to Judaism	*c.* 1090
Controversy before William II between Rabbis and Churchmen	*c.* 1090
Monks sent to Stamford to preach against Judaism	1109
First mention of London Jewry	1115
The Jews of London fined £2,000	1130
Conflagration in London Jewry	1136
Maud compels the Jews of Oxford to pay her an exchange of money	1141
Stephen extorts financial help from the Jews of Oxford	1141
Martyrdom of St. William of Norwich	1144
Jews relieved of the oppression of the Flemings	1154
Ibn Ezra visits England	1158
The Jews accorded legal autonomy	*c.* 1164
Blood accusation at Gloucester	1168
The leading Jews seized as hostages and a tallage of 5,000 marks levied	1168
The establishment of local Jewish cemeteries permitted	1177
Blood accusation at Bury St. Edmunds	1181
Assize of arms: Jews forbidden to carry arms	1181
Immigration of French Jews	1182
Tallage of £60,000 (one-quarter of the movables of the Jews) levied	1188
Jews of London massacred on the occasion of Richard I's coronation	1189

	YEAR
Massacres at Lynn, Norwich, Stamford, York, Bury St. Edmunds, Colchester, Thetford, and Ospringe	1190
Jews of Lincoln attacked, and protected by Bishop Hugh	1190
Jews expelled from Bury St. Edmunds	1190
Blood accusation at Winchester	1192
Richard investigates the massacres: official inquiry into the wealth of the Jews	1194
The Ordinances of the Jewry	1194
First mention of the Justices of the Jews	1198
Jacob of London appointed Archpresbyter	1199
The Charter of the Jews	1201
The king protects the Jews of London	1204
The whole of Anglo-Jewry imprisoned	1210
Jews tortured and despoiled to the extent of 66,000 marks. Exodus of Jews from England	1210
House of Converts established in Southwark	1213
Jews again imprisoned and taxed	1214
London Jewry sacked by the Barons	1215
Jewish rights invaded by Magna Charta	1215
Burgesses held responsible for the safety of the Jews	1217
Jews ordered to wear badges	1218
Attack on the Jews of Lincoln	1220
The Dominicans open a mission in the heart of Oxford Jewry	1221
Synod of Oxford recommends the imposition of disabilities on the Jews	1222
The Bishops of Lincoln and Norwich place Jews under an interdict	1222
A deacon burnt at Oxford for adopting Judaism	1222
Cambridge synagogue confiscated	1224
Tallage of 4,000 marks levied	1226
Tallage of 6,000 marks levied	1230
Charge of circumcising a child brought against the Jews of Norwich	1230
Jews expelled from Leicester	1231
Blood accusation at Winchester	1232
Two tallages of 18,000 marks levied	1232–34
Synagogue in London confiscated and given to the Brethren of St. Anthony of Vienna	1232
Irish Jewry entrusted to Peter de Rivall	1232
House of Converts opened in London	1233
Jews expelled from Newcastle	1234
Thirteen Jews of Norwich charged with the assault of 1230	1234
Christian officers of the Jewish Exchequer dismissed for corruption	1234
Jews expelled from Wycombe	1235
Jews expelled from Southampton	1236

	YEAR
Tallage of 18,000 marks levied on the Jews	1236
Aaron of York appointed Archpresbyter	1237
Further tallage	1237
Jews taxed to the extent of a third of their property	1239
The Parliament of the Jews	1241
Jews taxed to the extent of 20,000 marks	1241
Jews of Norwich hanged for the offence of 1230	1241
Jews expelled from Berkhampstead	1242
Aaron of York fined 32,000 marks	1243
Elias le Evesque, Archpresbyter	1243
Jews expelled from Newbury	1244
Blood accusation in London	1244
Clerical debtors attack Oxford Jewry	1244
The Barons obtain the right to appoint one of the Justices of the Jews	1244
Jews taxed to the extent of 20,000 marks	1244
Jews taxed to the extent of 60,000 marks	1245
Jews threatened with expulsion to Ireland	1245
Jewish rights of residence restricted	1245
Jews taxed to the extent of 10,000 marks	1246
Jews taxed to the extent of 5,525 marks	1247
Jews taxed to the extent of 10,000 marks	1249
The property of the Jews seized	1250
Alleged act of sacrilege by Abraham of Berkhampstead	1250
Jews taxed to the extent of 5,000 marks of silver and 40 marks gold	1251
Jews taxed to the extent of 3,500 marks	1252
Jews pay 5,000 marks for exemption from further tallage for nine months	1253
Jewish rights of residence restricted	1253
Jews expelled from Leicester	1253
The Jews of England request permission to leave the country	1254
The Jews again ask for leave to depart	1255
The Jews sold to Earl Richard for a term of years	1255
Archpresbyter Elias imprisoned as surety for a tallage	1255
Blood accusation at Lincoln (Little St. Hugh)	1255
The Church decrees the boycott of Jews appealing against its jurisdiction	1257
Archpresbyter Elias deposed, and succeeded by Hagin	1257
Tallage of 5,000 marks levied	1259
Jews of Oxford placed under the jurisdiction of the Chancellor	1260
London Jewry sacked by the Barons, and seven hundred Jews slain	1262
Jews expelled from Derby	1263
The Jews of Worcester attacked	1263
The Jews of London, Northampton, and Canterbury attacked	1264

	YEAR
De Montfort cancels the Barons' debts to the Jews	1264
The Jews of England assigned to Prince Edward, and pledged to the Cahorsins	1265
The Jews of Lincoln, Cambridge, and the Isle of Ely attacked	1266
Sacrilege by a Jew of Oxford	1268
Anti-Jewish legislation	1269
Anti-Jewish legislation	1271
A tallage of 6,000 marks levied to enable Prince Edward to take the cross	1272
Jews mortgaged to the Earl of Cornwall	1272
The principal London synagogue confiscated	1272
The Statute *de Judaismo*	1275
The Jews expelled from Queen Eleanor's towns	1275
Number of Jews hanged for tampering with the coinage	1278
Jews compelled to attend conversion sermons	1279
The remaining London synagogues suppressed	1282
Pope Honorius IV issues a bull against the Jews of England	1286
Ecclesiastical enactments against the Jews	1287
The whole of Anglo-Jewry imprisoned and released on payment of a ransom	1288
Expulsion of the Jews from England	1290
Jewish embassy endeavours to obtain the rescission of the edict of expulsion	1310
Presence of Jews in England reported to the Privy Council	1542
Elizabeth befriends Jewish refugees	1591
Birth of Menasseh ben Israel	1604
The first English publication advocating the re-admission of the Jews (Leonard Busher's *Religious Peace*)	1614
Jewish settlement in Barbados	1625
Queen Henrietta Maria visits the Amsterdam synagogue	1642
The Council of Mechanics vote Jewish toleration	1648
Joanna and Ebenezer Cartwright petition for the re-admission of the Jews	1649
Menasseh ben Israel publishes *The Hope of Israel*	1650
The St. John Mission treats with the Jews of Holland	1651
Samuel Herring petitions Parliament for the admission of the Jews	1653
Jews remove from the Brazils to the English colonies (first settlement in North America)	1654
Dormido comes to England	1654
Jewish settlement in New Amsterdam (New York)	1655
Menasseh ben Israel arrives in London	1655
The Whitehall Conference. The judges decide that there is no legal bar to the settlement of Jews in England	1655
The London Marranos openly profess Judaism, and are protected by Cromwell	1656

	YEAR
The Jews open a synagogue and lease a cemetery in London	1657
Solomon Dormido admitted a broker of the City of London	1657
Death of Menasseh ben Israel	1657
Attempt on the part of merchants to effect the expulsion of the Jews	1658
Thomas Violet applies to Justice Tyril that the Jews should be expelled	1659
Violet applies to the Privy Council for the expulsion of the Jews	1660
The City and the Jews petition Charles	1660
Jacob Sasportas appointed Haham	1664
The Jews of Cayenne settle in Surinam	1664
The king promises the Jews his protection	1664
A constitution adopted by the Sephardi community	1665
Privileges granted to the Jews of Surinam	1664
The first Anglo-Jewish charity (the Bikur Holim) founded	1666
Joshua da Silva appointed Haham	1670
The free exercise of Judaism without any restrictions granted in Barbados	1671
Unsuccessful efforts made to secure the expulsion of the Jews from Jamaica	1671
Proceedings against the Jews for infringement of the Conventicle Act stopped by order of the king	1673
Religious toleration granted to the Jews of New York	1674
The English Government intervenes on behalf of the Jews of Surinam	1675
Jehuda Loeb ben Ephraim Anshel, Ashkenazi Rabbi of London	1675
The Court of Aldermen forbids the settlement in London of indigent Jews	1677
Jews of Barbados forbidden to keep or trade with negroes	1679
Attempt by Jews to prevent the conversion of Eve Cohan	1680
The creation of a Ghetto suggested	1680
Jacob Abendana appointed Haham	1680
Unsuccessful attempt to expel the Jews from Jamaica	1681
First synagogue in North America	1682
James II protects the Jews against vexatious legal proceedings	1685
Jewish rights in New York restricted	1685
Solomon Ayllon appointed Haham	1689
Bill introduced into Parliament for the levy of a special tax on the Jews	1689
Alien dues imposed on endenizened Jewish merchants	1690
A forced loan levied on the Jews	1690
Ashkenazi community established	*c.* 1690
Jehuda ben Ephraim Cohen appointed Rabbi of the Ashkenazim	1690
The number of Jews on the London Exchange limited to twelve (twelve per cent. of the native Christians)	1697
David Nieto appointed Haham	1701

	YEAR
The Jews of Jamaica ask for political emancipation and are fined	1702
Bevis Marks Synagogue opened	1702
An Act to oblige Jews to maintain and provide for their Protestant children	1702
Ashkenazi secession (Hambro Synagogue)	1704
The Wardens of the two older synagogues petition the Board of Aldermen to forbid the establishment of a third community. Prayer granted	1704
Jewish disabilities created in Jamaica	1711
The Attorney-General decides that English-born Jews are capable of holding land	1718
Uri Phaibush (Aaron Hart) appointed Rabbi	1722
Great Synagogue opened	1722
Hambro Synagogue opened	1726
Death of Haham Nieto	1728
The Villa-Real School founded	1730
Jews' Free School established	1732
Anti-Jewish riots in London	1732
Isaac Nieto appointed Haham	1733
Jews take part in the colonization of Georgia	1733
Colonial Jews naturalized	1740
Plymouth Jewish community founded	*c.* 1740
M. G. de Mesquitta appointed Haham	1741
The special taxation of Jews abolished in Jamaica	1741
A Jewish theological seminary declared by the Courts a superstitious institution	1744
First Ashkenazi charity (*Akenosath Berith*) founded	1745
Sampson Gideon and other Jews assist the Government	1745
Committee of Diligence appointed to watch over the interests of the Jews	1746
Unsuccessful attempts to naturalize the Jews of Ireland	1745–6–7
The Beth Holim founded	1747
Portsea community founded	1747
Bristol community founded	*c.* 1750
Union of the three congregations to prevent unauthorized conversions to Judaism	1752
The Jewish Naturalization Act	1753
Jewish marriages legalized by Parliament	1753
The Jewish Naturalization Act repealed	1753
Attempt to repeal the Jewish portion of the Act of 1740	1754
Special taxes levied on the Jews of Barbados	1756
Hirsch Lobel (Hart Lyon) appointed Rabbi	1757
Jewish settlement in Canada	1760
Board of Deputies founded	1760
New Synagogue established	1761
Moses Cohen d'Azavedo appointed Haham	1761

	YEAR
Tewele Schiff appointed Rabbi of the Great Synagogue	1765
Meshullam Zalman appointed Rabbi of the Hambro Synagogue	1765
Congregation formed in Canada	1768
Jewish immigration restricted	1771
Dispute between the Sephardim and the City	1772
Unsuccessful attempt to impose church rates on the synagogue	1777
Establishment of the *Meshebat Nephesh*	1779
Jews excluded from the benefits of the Irish Naturalization Act	1783
Death of Haham d'Azavedo	1784
Legacy to a synagogue disallowed by the Courts	1786
Duke's Place Synagogue erected	1790
Death of Rabbi Tewele Schiff	1791
Anti-alien legislation	1792
The Ashkenazi synagogues combine for the relief of the unattached poor	1794
Establishment of the Haymarket Synagogue, the first London synagogue outside the City	1797
Inquiry into the ecclesiastical state of the Sephardi community	1802
Jews of Barbados fully emancipated	1802
Solomon Hirschell appointed Rabbi	1802
Jews volunteer for service against France	1803
Agreement between the three Ashkenazi communities	1805
Jews' Hospital founded	1806
Raphael Meldola appointed Haham	1806
A Jew elected to a Canadian Parliament	1807
First Jewish sermon in English	1807
First synagogue in Edinburgh	1816
First Australian community (Sydney)	1817
Special political privileges granted the Jews of Barbados	1820
Dublin community revived	1822
Glasgow community founded	*c.* 1825
Death of Haham Meldola	1828
The Duke of Wellington expresses his sympathy with Jewish political emancipation	1829
The first Jewish Emancipation Bill	1830
Restrictions on Jewish traders in the City of London removed	1831
A Jew admitted to the University of Cambridge	1831
Jews granted political rights in Canada	1832
A Jew called to the Bar	1833
Jewish Emancipation Bill passes the House of Commons	1833
David Salomons elected Sheriff of London and Middlesex. Act of Parliament qualifying Jews to hold the office of Sheriff	1835
Hirschell appointed Chief Rabbi of the three City Ashkenazi synagogues	1835
Movement for reform in the Sephardi community	1836
A Jew elected a Governor of Christ's Hospital	1836

	YEAR
A University degree conferred upon a Jew at Dublin	1836
David Salomons elected an Alderman of the City of London	1836
Jewish Emancipation Bill becomes a Government measure	1836
Melbourne community founded	1839
British Government protects Jews of Palestine	1839
The Reformers secede from the parent communities	1840
Britain expresses her sympathy with the Jews of Damascus	1840
The first Jewish Baronet (Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid) created	1841
Cape Town community founded	1841
First Anglo-Jewish newspaper	1841
West London Synagogue (the Reform Synagogue) established	1842
Reformers excommunicated	1842
Death of Chief Rabbi Hirschell	1842
Nathan Adler elected Chief Rabbi	1845
Act for the relief of persons of the Jewish religion elected to municipal offices	1845
A Jew (Baron Lionel de Rothschild) elected to Parliament	1847
David Salomons elected to Parliament, votes without taking the oath, and is fined	1851
Jews College founded	1855
Alderman Salomons chosen Lord Mayor of London	1855
Jews of Tasmania receive Government grant	1855
Jewish emancipation adopted	1858
The Mortara abduction	1858
The first Jewish Q.C. (Francis Goldsmid)	1858
Jewish Board of Guardians established	1859
Port Elizabeth community founded	1862
The admission of Jews to either House of Parliament legalized	1866
Branch Sephardi Synagogue opened in West London	1866
Benjamin Artom appointed Haham	1866
United Synagogue established	1870
A Jewish Senior Wrangler (Numa Hartog)	1870
Anglo-Jewish Association founded	1871
University Tests Act	1871
Sunday factory labour permitted to Jews	1871
A Jew appointed a Minister of the Crown (Sir George Jessel)	1871
The first Jewish Judge (Sir George Jessel)	1873
The first Jewish Privy Councillor (Sir George Jessel)	1873
Death of Haham Artom	1879
British protests against Russian persecutions	1881
Death of Sir Moses Montefiore	1885
The first Jewish Peer (Lord Rothschild)	1885
Federation of Synagogues established	1887
Dr. Moses Gaster appointed Haham	1887
Death of Chief Rabbi Adler	1890
British protests against Russian persecutions	1890

	YEAR
Hermann Adler appointed Chief Rabbi	1891
Foundation of the Zionist Organization	1897
The first Jewish Colonial Governor (Sir Matthew Nathan)	1900
Jewish Religious Union founded	1902
The Alien Restriction Act	1905
A Jewish Cabinet Minister (Mr. H. Samuel)	1909
Death of Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler	1911
Dr. J. H. Hertz elected Chief Rabbi	1913
A Jewish Lord Chief Justice (Lord Reading)	1913
The Balfour Declaration	1917
Resignation of Haham Gaster	1918
A Jewish Ambassador (Lord Reading)	1918
A Jewish Commander of the Australian Forces in France (Sir John Monash)	1918
Sir Herbert Samuel, British High Commissioner for Palestine	1920
A Jewish Viceroy of India (Lord Reading)	1920
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